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*from the Author:
Joseph Wright.*

A Grammar

OF THE

DIALECT OF WINDHILL,

IN THE

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

*Illustrated by a Series of Dialect Specimens, phonetically rendered;
with a Glossarial Index of the Words used in the
Grammar and Specimens.*

BY

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*'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht;
Vieles Reden thut es nicht.'*

4105.6
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London:

PUBLISHED FOR THE ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY
BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., CHARING CROSS ROAD.

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1892.

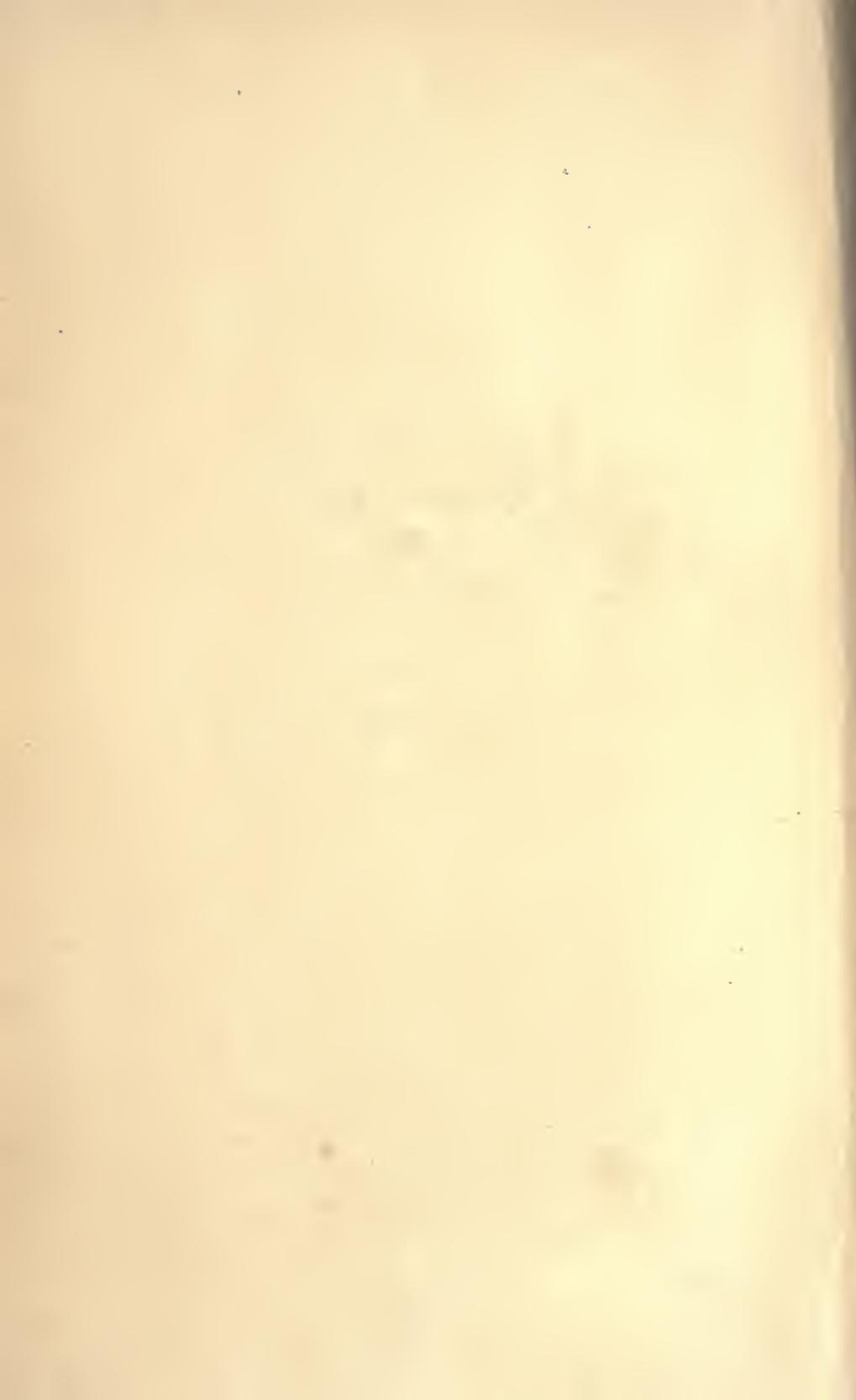
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To My Mother



PREFACE

My chief object in writing the following Grammar has been to furnish specialists in English philology with an accurate account of the Phonology and Accidence of one of the most interesting of the Yorkshire dialects. And in order to make the work as useful as possible to this class of scholars, I have taken special care to include in the Phonology fairly complete lists of the words which are in common use in the dialect and also exist in the literary language. This method of treatment has sometimes involved me in great difficulties ; because in the case of words which seem to have had an abnormal development I could not always decide with certainty whether the seeming irregularities had arisen within the dialect itself, or whether the words in question had been introduced from the literary language at various periods, or were merely borrowings from some neighbouring dialect. These are difficulties which every writer of a scientific dialect grammar has to contend with. But it would manifestly have been dishonest on my part to have omitted any word or form which did not seem to have had a regular development. The result is that the grammar contains dozens of words the vocalism of which I have not been able to

explain satisfactorily, but I have nevertheless registered them in separate paragraphs, as being in common use in the dialect and of equal importance to the English philologist. Out of a great many such examples I will only mention a few here: *nuez* (OE. *nosu*) *nose*, *bied* (OE. *beard*) *beard*, *ut* (OE. *hāt*) *hot*, *friet* (OE. *fretan*) *to fret*, for which we should expect in the dialect *noiz* (§§ 105, 109), *bād* (§§ 61, 68), *uet* (§§ 122, 126), *freit* (§§ 82, 87). On the other hand, the present grammar will, I trust, help to throw some light upon Old English vowel quantities, besides showing how dialects still keep apart many vowel sounds which have fallen together in the literary language. Of the latter I will only mention a few examples, although a great many may be found in the grammar:—*jād* (OE. *geard*) *yard*, *jiēd* (OE. *gerd*) *yard, three feet*. *wāk* (OE. *weorc*) *work*, *wēk* (OE. *wyrcan*) *to work*. *meil* (OE. *melu*) *meal, flour*, *miel* (OE. *māl*) *meal, repast*. *reit* (OE. *reoht, reht*) *right*, *rait* (OE. *wrītan*) *to write*, *rīt* (OE. *wyrhta*) *wright*.

In the treatment of the native element contained in the grammar I have generally started out from Old English, which in some respects presents fewer difficulties to the writer of a modern dialect grammar than Middle English with its numerous dialects. Had I, however, been a specialist in this period of our mother tongue, I should probably have been able to settle many minor points which remain unsolved in the present grammar. But still, in spite of my shortcomings in this respect, I hope that the book will be a welcome contribution to English philology.

In the treatment of the French element in the dialect I found, after trying many experiments, that the only

satisfactory plan was to start out from the present pronunciation of literary English. The words have come into the dialect at various periods and through various channels, and it is accordingly almost impossible to treat them historically. I have therefore contented myself with registering the present dialectical pronunciation of the French element, and for this purpose I have adopted, as the standard of literary English pronunciation, the sound-system in Sweet's Primer of Spoken English, which is fairly typical of the Southern pronunciation of educated people. A comparison of the development of the French and English elements in the dialect is interesting from many points of view. I will only draw attention to §§ 61, 203 and §§ 58, 202; but many other paragraphs will be found equally interesting both to English and French philologists. Any one, who is not thoroughly acquainted with the dialect, may possibly think that I have introduced into this part of the grammar many words which are not in common use; but such is not the case. I have been particularly careful in this respect. I will only mention one instance out of many where I may seem to have erred: *rai t akt riot act*, which is one of the commonest expressions in the dialect, a regular household phrase. What mother has not said to her naughty child hundreds of times, if *t  duz  at e gi n al r id  i tra t akt en reit en o l?*

In the chapter on the consonants the chief interest naturally lies in the gutturals. In this part of the grammar I have tried to give complete lists of the words which differ in their development from literary English, I mean such words as: *flik fitch*, *reik to reach*, *brig bridge*, *flig fledge*, *duef dough*, etc.

It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years, but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

The Index, which has been a laborious piece of work, contains all the words occurring in the grammar.

As a guarantee for the general accuracy of the material contained in the book, I need only state that I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up.

In conclusion I have the pleasant task of expressing my most cordial thanks to three friends—Professor Napier, Professor Holthausen, and the Rev. A. L. Mayhew—who have given me much valuable help in the work.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

OXFORD,
January 1893.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Angl. = Anglian.	O. Fr. = Old French.
Dan. = Danish.	O. Fris. = Old Frisian.
dial. = dialect.	OHG. = Old High German.
Fr. = French.	O. Icel. = Old Icelandic.
gen. = genitive.	O. Ir. = Old Irish.
Germ. = German, Germanic.	O. Low Germ. = Old Low German.
Goth. = Gothic.	O. Norm. Fr. = Old Norman French.
Lat. = Latin.	O.N. = Old Norse.
lit. = literally.	O. North. = Old Northumbrian.
lit. Engl. = literary English.	O. Swed. = Old Swedish.
Low Germ. = Low German.	pl. = plural.
ME. = Middle English.	pret. = preterite.
MHG. = Middle High German.	pp. = past participle.
Mid. Du. = Middle Dutch.	sing., sg. = singular.
M. Low Germ. = Middle Low German.	Scot. = Scotch.
Norw. = Norwegian.	Swed. = Swedish.
occ. = occasionally.	W. = Windhill.
OE. = Old English.	WS. = West Saxon.
	> = has become.

The asterisk (*) prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form.

WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE GRAMMAR.

Cotgr. = A French and English Dictionary, composed by Mr. Randle Cotgrave; with another in English and French, edited by J. Howell.
EEPr. = Early English Pronunciation, by A. J. Ellis.
E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.
Etym. Dict. = Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, by W. W. Skeat.
Florio = A Worlde of Wordes, or most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, by John Florio, London, 1598.
Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von H. Paul.

The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by J. A. H. Murray.

N.E.D. = New English Dictionary, edited by J. A. H. Murray and H. Bradley.

P. B. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, herausgegeben von H. Paul und W. Braune.

Prompt. Parv. = Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, dictionarius Anglo-Latinus princeps, auctore fratre Galfrido, grammatico dicto, ex ordine fratrum predicatorum, Northfolciensi, circa a. d. MCCCCXL, ad fidem codicum recensuit Albert Way, London, 1865.

Sievers, OE. Gr. = Angelsächsische Grammatik, von E. Sievers.

Stratmann = Dictionary of the Old English Language, by F. H. Stratmann (new edition, by H. Bradley).

Sweet, H.E.S. = History of English Sounds, by H. Sweet.

Sweet, NE. Gr. = New English Grammar, by H. Sweet.

Synopsis of Old English Phonology, by A. L. Mayhew.

Town. Myst. = The Towneley Mysteries (printed for the Surtees Society).

The following list of letters may be useful to those who consult the book without first reading the chapter on pronunciation :—

ə = the e in German Gabe.

ɛ = the i in lit. Engl. bird.

j = the y ,, you.

ŋ = the ng, n ,, sing, song, drink.

š = the sh ,, she.

tš = the ch ,, choose.

þ = the th ,, thin.

ð = the th ,, then.

dž = the j ,, just.

GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. WINDHILL is a manufacturing village in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, three miles North of Bradford.

The dialect belongs to the Eastern North Midland group, which embraces the whole of South Yorkshire. Dr. Ellis (EEPr. v. p. 364) distinguishes nine varieties: The Western group containing var. 1. Huddersfield and var. 2. Halifax. The North Central group containing var. 3. Keighley, var. 4. Bradford, var. 5. Leeds, var. 6. Dewsbury. The South Central group containing var. 7. Rotherham and var. 8. Sheffield. The Eastern group containing var. 9. Doncaster and the Eastern slip.

Of these nine varieties the Windhill dialect is most closely related to numbers 3. 4. 5.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I.

PRONUNCIATION.

A. The Vowels.

§ 2. The Windhill dialect contains the following vowel sounds :—

Short vowels a, e, i, o, u, θ

Long „ ā, ī, ū, ē

Short diphthongs ai, ei, oi, ui
 eu, iu, ou
 ee, ie, oe, ue

Long „ āe

Triphthongs aie, iue, oue

NOTE.—To these must be added l, m, n, r̄ in the function of vowels. For examples see the corresponding consonants §§ 17–19.

§ 3. In the following paragraphs will be given a brief description of the Windhill vowel-system. For which purpose I have adopted the notation as given in Sweet's Primer of Phonetics. In the autumn of 1886 Dr. Sweet was kind enough to render me considerable help in the analysis of the W. vowel sounds; thus enabling me to fix

the sounds far more accurately than would otherwise have been the case, had it not been for his kind assistance. The late Dr. Ellis, to whom I dictated the Dialect Test (EEPr. v. pp. 389-90) and the dialect words in his Classified Word List (pp. 391-4), was also of some help to me. But a comparison of his appreciation of the W. vowels with that of Dr. Sweet and my own will show that we differ on several minor points.

All the diphthongs and triphthongs have the stress on the first element. In my transcription I have written *iə*, *uə*, &c., but the first element is really a medium long vowel, which stands in the same relation to the corresponding short vowel as the lit. Engl. vowel in *feet* does to fit or seek to sick.

§ 4. *a* (mid-back-wide) like the *a* in German *Mann*, but with the tongue slightly more advanced.

lat late, *faðe(r) father*, *mak to make*, *as to ask*, *laðe(r) ladder*, *dlad glad*, *tšap chap*, *ratn rat*, *pastə(r) pasture*, *apren apron*, *kwaleti quality*, *vari very*.

ā (mid-back-wide) like the *a* in German *Name* and in lit. Engl. *father*, but with slightly more advanced position of the tongue as in short *a*. After our *ā* there is also a trace of a glide (*āə*), which however is not sufficiently developed to be conveniently represented in print.

rām room, *fāl foul*, *bān child*, *wām warm*, *wāk (noun) work*, *fādin farthing*, *sāvnt servant*, *pāðe(r) powder*.

ai=a+i:

raiv to tear, *mais mice*, *tais to entice*.

aie=ai+e:

aien iron, *faie(r) fire*, *raiet riot*.

āe=ā+ə:

dāe(r) dare, *sāe(r) sour*, *tāe(r) tower*.

§ 5. e (low-front-narrow) like the ä in Swed. lära and the first element of the diphthong in lit. Engl. care but short. Ellis identified it as mid-front-wide, but Sweet and myself agree in the above analysis.

elp to help, **bed** bed, **brek** to break, **emērō** among, **weš** to wash, **bleg** blackberry, **geðe(r)** to gather, **ðen** then, **šepste(r)** starling, **len** to lend, **gezlin** gosling, **depþ** depth, **lek** to leak, **frend** friend, **treml** to tremble, **blenkit** blanket, **fešn** fashion, **lenit** linnet.

ei=e+i:

feit to fight, **beid** bead, **eit** to eat, **leitš** leech, **reik** to reach, **lein** to lean, **ei** high.

eu=e+u:

eu ewe, **feu** few, **seu** to sew.

ee=e+e:

beed to bathe, **dee** day, **breed** to resemble, **bleet** to bleat, **tlee** clay, **leek** to play, **beeknō** bacon, **kweet** quart, **meestē(r)** master.

§ 6. i (high-front-wide) like the i in lit. Engl. bit:

lig to lie down, **wik** quick, **alive**, **ir** to hang, **sits** such, **fligd** fledged, **dwinl** to dwindle, **litl** little, **sili** silly, **ive(r)** ever, **rik** smoke, **divl** devil, **tšimli**, **chimney**, **šimi** chemise.

i (high-front-narrow) like the ie in German Biene. It is a pure long vowel, not like the ee in South. Engl. feed, which is a diphthong (ij):

mild mild, **nīt** night, **field** field, **wil** (adv.) well, **frit** fright, **bild** to build, **imin** evening, **kil** to cool, **litnin** lightning, **si**. **sigh**, **nī** knee, **bif** beef.

ie=i+e:

bied beard, **ieþ** earth, **swie(r)** to swear, **friet** to fret, **fie(r)** to laugh or sneer at, **dried** to dread, **tlien** clean, **bried** bread, **bie(r)** beer, **viel** veal, **fies** fierce.

iu=i+u:

tliu a ball of string or worsted, **spiu** to vomit, **tiuk** took, **lium** loom, **iniu** (pl.) enough, **briu** to brew, **frute(r)** future, **bliu** blue, **riubub** rhubarb.

iue=iu+e:

siue(r) sure, **piue(r)** pure.

§ 7. **o** (low-back-wide-round) like the **o** in lit. Engl. not:

frozn frozen, **lop** flea, **bodi** body, **wote(r)** water, **solt** salt, **moni** many, **jole** yellow, **sori** sorry, **tof** tough, **fotnit** fortnight, **kotn** cotton, **ont** aunt, **rost** to roast.

oi=o+i:

þoil to give ungrudgingly, **boil** to boil, **toist** toast.

ou=o+u. But here the first element is low-back-narrow-round like the **aw** in lit. Engl. law:

koud cold, **doute(r)** daughter, **floun** flown, **kouk** coke, **grou** to grow, **þout** thought, **loup** to jump, **out** ought, **tout** taught, **pouts** to poach, **skoud** to scald.

oue=ou+e:

foue(r) four.

oe=o+e, the first element of which is the same as the **o** in **ou**:

koef calf, **woef** insipid, **boek** beam, **boeld** bald, **poem** palm, **soev** salve, **moek** maggot, **boen** born, **noeðe(r)** neither, **snoe** snow, **goem** heed, care, **goeki** left handed, **oeðe(r)** to order, **džoenes** jaundice.

§ 8. **u** (high-back-wide-round) like the **u** in lit. Engl. put:

fun (pp.) found, **flute(r)** to flutter, **tul** to, **fuml** to fumble, **ut** hot, **muðe(r)** mother, **uðe(r)** udder, **butše(r)** butcher, **buzed** butterfly, **nuvl** novel.

ü (high-back-narrow-round) like the **u** in Germ. gut. In

the W. dialect it is a pure long vowel and not a diphthong (*uw*) like the *oo* in Southern Engl. *food*:

šūl *shovel*, **əbūn** *above*, **būkþ** *bulk, size*.

ui=u+i. The first element of which is not the *u* in *put*. Dr. Ellis identified the first element as mid-back-narrow-round like the *o* in Germ. *Bote*, but this is certainly not the sound. At first Dr. Sweet gave the same analysis as Dr. Ellis, but he was afterwards inclined to think that it might be mid-back-narrow-round with outer rounding like the *o* in Swedish *sol*. But this too is hardly our sound. The nearest analysis seems to me to be the tongue position of high-back-narrow-round, like the *u* in Germ. *gut*, *ou* in French *sou*, with the lip position of mid-back-narrow-round:

bluid *blood*, **uin** *to harass, treat badly*, **gruin** *snout of a pig*.

ue=u+e. The first element is the same as the *u* in *ui*:
nuez *nose*, **smue(r)** *to smother*, **due(r)** *door*, **juæk** *yolk*,
kuem *comb*, **duef** *dough*, **dlue(r)** *to stare*, **kued** *cord*, **tluek**
cloak, **pue(r)** *poor*.

§ 9. **ø** (mid-mixed-narrow) like the *e* in German *Gabe*, but with the tongue slightly more retracted. It is not identical with the *-er* in lit. Engl. *better*, which is mid-mixed-wide. It occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables:

jestøde *yesterday*, **størek** *heifer*, **førø** *furrow*, **wøri** *to worry*, **bød** *but*, **spørit** *spirit*, **vale** *value*.

œ (low-mixed-narrow) like the *i* in lit. Engl. *bird*, but with the tongue rather more advanced. It only occurs in stressed syllables:

gøs *grass*, **bøk** *birch*, **wød** *word*, **møðø(r)** *murder*, **wøk** *to work*, **køsmøs** *Christmas*, **gøt** *great*, **kønz** *currants*.

B. The Consonants.

§ 10. The W. dialect contains the following consonants : **b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, n̄, p, r, s, š, t, þ, ð, v, w, z, ž.**

§ 11. **b** (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English **b**. It occurs initially, medially, and finally :

bān *child*, **beed** *to bathe*, **bun** (pp.) *bound*, **brig** *bridge*, **bleb** *blister*, **breed** *to resemble*, *act like another person*, **brīt** *bright*. **kubed** *cupboard*, **riubub** *rhubarb*, **uzbn** *husband*. **dub** *a small pool of water*, **nub** *to nudge*.

§ 12. **d** (gum-stop-voice) like lit. English **d**. It occurs in all positions :

duēf *dough*, **dī** *to die*, **diu** *to do*, **dwinl** *to dwindle*, **džais** *joist*, **dlas** *glass*. **bodm** *bottom*, **fādin** *farthing*, **wide** *widow*. **nobed** lit. *not but*, *only*, **grund** *ground*, **od** *to hold*, **snod** *smooth*, **boged** *ghost*, *apparition*.

§ 13. **f** (lip-teeth-open-breath) like lit. Engl. **f**. It occurs in all positions :

feu *few*, **foil** *foal*, **feit** *to fight*, **flig** *fledge*, **fan** (pret.) *found*. **duefi** *cowardly*, **woefi** *insipid*, **fift** *fifth*, **druft** *drought*. **kaf** *chaff*, **duēf** *dough*, **koef** *calf*, **laif** *life*.

§ 14. **g** (back-stop-voice) like lit. Engl. **g**. It occurs in all positions :

geen *near*, *direct*, **galek** *lefthand*, **gāl** *the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye*, **guid** *good*, **goemles** *foolish*, *silly*. **blegs** *blackberries*, **boged** *ghost*, **pigin** *small water can*, **flegstn** *flagstone*. **ig** *mood*, *temper*, **ug** *to carry*, **lig** *to lie down*, **neeg** *to gnaw*.

§ 15. **j** (front-open-voice) like lit. English **y** in *you*. It only occurs initially :

jest *yeast*, *jestedə* *yesterday*, *jole* *yellow*, *jur* *young*. I have sometimes heard the sound medially in *teelje(r)*, *teele(r)* *tailor*.

§ 16. **k** (back-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. **k**. It occurs in all positions:

kā *cow*, *kest* *to cast*, *kei* *key*, *koud* *cold*, *koul* *to rake*, *kil* *to cool*. *skrat* *to scratch*, *bake* *tobacco*, *beekr* *bacon*, *oks* *ox*. *flik* *flitch of bacon*, *reik* *to reach*, *wik* *quick*, *alive*, *bēk* *birch*.

§ 17. **l** (gum-side-voice) like ordinary English **l**. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel in unaccented syllables only:

leek *to play*, *loin* *lane*, *len* *to lend*, *leeð* *barn*, *luensem* *lonely*, *leelek* *lilac*, *loup* *to jump*. *olin* *holly*, *bild* *to build*, *twilt* *quilt*. *koil* *coal*, *steil* *to steal*, *wil* (adv.) *well*.

Examples of vocalic **l** are: *kitl* *to tickle*, *adl* *to earn*, *satl* *to settle*, *spnl* *spindle*, *rasl* *to wrestle*.

§ 18. **m** (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. **m**. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

meitš *to measure*, *mun* *must*, *muin* *moon*, *māt* *to moult*. *treml* *to tremble*, *īmin* *evening*, *sīmin-dlas* *mirror*. *steim* *to bespeak*, *gam* *game*, *freem* *to make a beginning*, *goem* *heed*, *care*.

Examples of vocalic **m** are: *bodm* *bottom*, *fadm* *fathom*, *fpms* *fivepence*, *wiepm* *weapon*, *kindm* (OE. *cynedōm*) *kingdom*.

§ 19. **n** (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. **n**. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

niø(r) *kidney*, *nīt* *night*, *nen-neel* *corn on the foot*, *nub*

to nudge, noððe(r) neither. snoe snow, inif enough, moni many, sind to rinse, wash out, spinl spindle. gēn to grin, bin within, fādin farthing, runin running.

Examples of vocalic **n** are: *frozn frozen, brusn* (pp.) *burst, ratn rat, seldn seldom, getn* (pp.) *got, tšozn chosen, þazn thousand.*

§ 20. **n** (back-nasal-voice) like *ng, n* in lit. Engl. *sing, song, drink, drunk.* As a consonant it only occurs in accented, and as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

blenk blank, brin to bring, tenz tongs finðe(r) finger, in to hang, blenkit blanket, þin thing.

Examples of vocalic **n** are: *brokn broken, beðgn bargain, drukn drunk, drunken, wokn to waken.*

§ 21. **p** (lip-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. **p.** It occurs initially, medially, and finally:

poem palm, poez to kick, penøþ pennyworth. speen to wean, spitek spigot, api happy, apl apple, stapl staple. lop flea, elp to help, sweep the handle of a machine, saip to ooze or drain out slowly.

§ 22. **r** (gum-open-voice). Before a following vowel **r** is a gently trilled sound. Final **r** is also slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. *fear*, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. *far*. In order to distinguish strong and weak **r** the latter is uniformly written (**r**) in this grammar:

raiv to tear, roet to bray, roem to roam, reik to reach, rām room, brek to break, ren wrong. sare to serve, marə to match, féri first turn, bare barrow. ger up to get up.

swiə(r) to swear, piə(r) pear, smue(r) to smother, wee(r) to spend money.

§ 23. *s* (blade-open-breath) like the *s* in lit. Engl. *sit*. It occurs in all positions:

sal shall, sud should, sit sight, seem lard, sāk to suck, snod smooth, steim to bespeak, strie straw, speik to speak, siugə(r) sugar, swiel to gutter (of a candle). koese cause-way, brusn (pp.) burst, rāst rust, omest almost, prosil thrush. as ash, ashes, guis goose, ās house, oks ox, oes horse, ius use.

§ 24. *š* (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. Engl. *sh* in *she*. It occurs far more frequently initially and finally than medially:

šuin shoes, šimi chemise, šap shape, šak to shake, šuže(r) to shudder. tšons chance, tšeeme(r) chamber, tšiuz to choose, fešn fashion. weš to wash, rediš radish, fotš to fetch, bleitš to bleach, mitš much.

§ 25. *t* (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English *t*. It occurs in all positions:

tak to take, temz hop-sieve, toist toast, teu to work zealously, tluep cloth. fotn (pp.) fought, flute(r) future, wātə weekday. gēt great, fouet fourth, ut hot, lat lath.

§ 26. *p* (teeth-open-breath) like the *th* in lit. Engl. *thin*. It occurs initially and finally:

pak thatch, pāzn thousand, pout thought, priep to contradict, dispute. brop broth, māp mouth, dięp death, swāp the skin of bacon.

§ 27. *ð* (teeth-open-voice) like the *th* in lit. English *then*. It occurs initially only in words which had formerly the weak stress; medially between vowels; and finally after vowels:

ðai, ði thy, ðis this, ðen then. šuðe(r) to shudder, pāðe(r) powder feðe(r) feather, soðe(r) solder. buið booth, leeð barn, smuið smooth.

§ 28. v (lip-teeth-open-voice) like the v in lit. Engl. vine. Initially it only occurs in words of French origin:

vari *very*, viel *veal*, vois *voice*. ave-meil *oatmeal*, navi *canal*. neiv *fist*, raiv *to tear*, þraiv *to thrive*.

§ 29. w (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. Engl. w in wet. It only occurs initially and medially:

wāk (noun) *work*, wen *thong*, wen *when*, wil *wheel*, wik *quick, alive*, wām *warm*. eweə *away*, dwiŋl *to dwindle*, twais *twice*, kweet *quart*, kwaleti *quality*, swiət *to sweat*, swetš *a small sample of cloth*.

§ 30. z (blade-open-voice) like the z in lit. Engl. zeal, freeze. Initially it only occurs in ziel *zeal*. It is common medially and finally:

uzbn *husband*, meze(r) *measure*, rīzd *rancid (of bacon)*, frozn *frozen*, fuzi *soft*, spongy, buzəd *butterfly*, gizn *to choke*. temz *hop-sieve*, ez as, siðez *scissors*, tšiuž *to choose*.

§ 31. ž (blade-point-open-voice) like the s in lit. Engl. measure. It only occurs after d and n:

džoul *to knock, strike*, džais *joist*, džudž *Judge*, sādžn *sergeant*, eədž *age*, tšeədž *charge*, inž *hinge*, sinž *to singe*; but in words of French origin we have indžn *engine*, moəndž *mange*.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

1. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 32. Windhill a corresponds to:

1. OE. æ(a) in originally closed syllables, § 57: *as* *ashes*, *fan* (pret.) *found*, *gam* *game*, *lat* *late*, *sal* *shall*, *sam* *up*, (OE. *samnian*) *to pick up*, *pak* *thatch*.
2. Rarely OE. a(æ) in open syllables, § 71: *faðə(r)* *father*, *mak* *to make*, *tak* *to take*.
3. Shortening of OE. ā, § 125: *as* *to ask*, *spatl* *spittle*.
4. Shortening of OE. ē, §§ 135, 144: *blast* *blast*.
bad *bad*, *laðə(r)* *ladder*.
5. Rarely shortening of OE. ēa, § 186: *tšap* *chap*.
6. Lit. Engl. æ in French words, § 194; *galek* (O. Fr. *galc*) *left hand*, *ratn* *rat*, *vale* *value*.
7. Lit. Engl. ā in French words, § 195: *bastēd* *bastard*, *paste(r)* *pasture*.
8. Rarely lit. Engl. ei in French words, § 196: *apren* *apron*.

9. Lit. Engl. o (through the influence of the preceding w) in French words, § 202: *kwaleti* *quality*, *warənd* *to warrant*.

10. Lit. Engl. e before r in French words, § 208: *tarie(r)* *terrier*, *vari* *very*.

e.

§ 33. Windhill e corresponds to:

1. Germanic e, and the i-umlaut of a in originally closed syllables; and also when e was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r, §§ 72-3: *delf* *delf*, *elp* *to help*, *leðə(r)* *leather*, *melt* *to melt*, *weft* *weft*.

bed *bed*, *ketl* *kettle*, *lenþ* (by assimilation) *length*, *mens* *neatness*, *set* *to set*.

2. Rarely OE. e in open syllables, § 88: *brek* *to break*, *get* *to get*.

3. Germ. a before a following g, n, š, §§ 59, 197: *beg* *bag*, *bleg* *blackberry*, *emēr* *among*, *ren* *wrong*, *senk* *sank*. *eš* *ash-tree*, *weš* *to wash*.

4. Rarely OE. a(æ) in other cases, § 60: *elte(r)* *halter*, *geðe(r)* *to gather*, *wesp* *wasp*.

5. Rarely OE. o, § 108: *ðen* *then*, *wen* *when*.

6. Shortening of Germanic æ (W.S. æ, O. North. ē), § 134: *bleðe(r)* *bladder*, *šepste(r)* *starling*, *slept* *slept*.

7. Shortening of OE. ē (i-umlaut of a), § 143: *fleš* *flesh*, *len* *to lend*, *les* *less*.

8. Shortening of OE. ē, œ (i-umlaut of o), § 148: *bled* *bled*, *gezlin* *gosling*, *met* *met*.

9. Shortening of Anglian ēo (=WS. īe) § 192: *depþ* *depth*, *ten* *ten*.

10. Shortening of OE. ēa, § 186: *lek* *leak*, *red* (adj.) *red*.

11. Shortening of OE. ēo, § 192: *brest* *breast*, *frend* *friend*.
12. Lit. Engl. e in French words, § 206: *demek* *potato* *disease*, *mel* *to meddle*, *treml* *to tremble*.
13. Lit. Engl. æ before g, n, š in French words, § 197: *dregn* *dragon*, *blenkit* *blanket*, *fešn* *fashion*.
14. Rarely lit. Engl. i in French words, § 212: *lenit* *linnet*, *rebit* *rivet*.

i.

§ 34. Windhill i corresponds to :

1. OE. i, § 89: *bin* (OE. *binnan*) *within*, *bitn* *bitten*, *find* *to find*, *lig* *to lie down*, *wik* *quick*, *alive*.
2. OE. e (i-umlaut of a) before an original n (now n or nž), § 76: *in* (ME. *hengen*) *to hang*, *sinž* *to singe*, *pink* *to think*.
3. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 77: *kil* *to kill*, *sitš* *such*, *wile* *willow*.
4. OE. y (i-umlaut of u), § 117: *brig* *bridge*, *flig* (ME. *fligge*) *fledge*, *ig* (OE. *hyge*) *mood*, *temper*.
5. Shortening of OE. ī, § 160: *dwinl* *to dwindle*, *fift* *fifth*.
6. Shortening of OE. ū (i-umlaut of ū), § 177: *litl* *little*, *wiš* *to wish*.
7. Rarely shortening of Germanic ā, § 136: *ridl* *riddle*, *sili* *silly*.
8. Rarely shortening of OE. ā (i-umlaut of ā), § 145: *ive(r)* *ever*, *ivri* *every*.
9. Rarely shortening of OE. ē, older īe, § 150, note: *rik* *to smoke (of a chimney)*.
10. Rarely shortening of OE. ēo, § 192: *divl* *devil*, *sik* *sick*.

11. Lit. Engl. i in French words, § 211: **konsiðe(r)** to consider, **livə(r)** to deliver, **tšimli** chimney.

12. Lit. Engl. e before nasals in French words, § 209: **lints** lentils, **šimi** chemise.

O.

§ 35. Windhill o corresponds to:

1. West Germanic o in originally closed syllables; and also when o was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r, § 100: **bodm** bottom, **fotn** (pp.) fought, **lop** flea, **frozn** frozen, **olin** (ME. holen) holly-tree, **snod** smooth, **tšozn** chosen, **þrosl** thrush.

2. Rarely OE. o in open syllables, § 110: **bodi** body, **popi** poppy.

3. OE. a preceded by w and not followed by g, n, š, or r + consonant, § 58: **swole** swallow, **swop** to exchange, **wō(r)** (accented form) was, **wote(r)** water.

4. OE. ea(a) before ls, It, § 58: **fols** false, **molt** malt, **solt** salt.

5. Rarely OE. a in other cases, § 58: **omest** almost, **oles** always, **moni** many.

6. Rarely OE. eo(e), § 80: **jole** (OE. geolu) yellow, **fotš** to fetch.

7. Shortening from OE. ā, § 125: **sori** sorry.

8. Shortening of OE. ō, § 169: **foðe(r)** fodder, **tōf** tough.

9. Rarely shortening from OE. ēo, § 192: **foti** forty, **fotnit** fortnight.

10. Lit. Engl. o in French words, § 214: **boni** nice, pretty, **džosl** to jostle, **kotn** cotton, **poridž** porridge.

11. Lit. Engl. ā before n + consonant, in French words, § 200: **dons** dance, **ont** aunt, **tšons** chance.

12. Rarely lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 217: **gol** goal, **rost** to roast.

u.

§ 36. Windhill u corresponds to :

1. OE. u, § 111 : **drukn** *drunk*, **fun** (pp.) *found*, **grund** *ground*, **kudl** *to embrace*, **kum** *to come*, **þunə(r)** *thunder*, **ug** *to carry*, **unded** *hundred*.
2. Rarely OE. o, § 107 : **fliute(r)** *to flutter*, **uvm** *oven*.
3. Rarely OE. i, § 97 : **kud** (OE. **cwidu**) *cud*, **tul** (ME. **til**) *to*.
4. Rarely OE. y, § 121 : **bluš** *to blush*, **bunl** *bundle*.
5. Shortening from OE. ā, § 126 : **ut** *hot*, **wun** *one*.
6. Shortening of OE. ō, § 169 b ; **munþ** *month*, **muðe(r)** *mother*, **sluf** (OE. **slōg**) *slough*.
7. Shortening of OE. ū, § 174 : **fus** *fuss*, **plum** *plum*, **uðe(r)** *udder*, **uzbn** *husband*.
8. Lit. Engl. u in French words, § 227 : **butše(r)** *butcher*, **puš** *to push*, **put** *to put*.
9. Lit. Engl. e in French words, § 226 : **buzed** *butterfly*, **mutn** *mutton*, **uml** *humble*.
10. Rarely lit. Engl. o in French words, § 215 : **nuvl** *novel*.

θ.

§ 37. Windhill e corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. e, § 81 : **beri** *berry*, **jestede** *yesterday*.
2. Rarely OE. i, § 91 : **sterek** (OE. **stirc**, **styric**) *heifer*.
3. OE. u before a following r, § 113 : **bere** *borough*, **fere** *furrow*.
4. OE. y before a following r, § 120, (2) : **bəri** *to bury*, **wəri** *to worry*.
5. Lit. Engl. i before a following r in French words, § 213 : **sperit** *spirit*.

2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 38. Windhill ā corresponds to :

1. OE. ū, § 171: ās *house*, dāst *dust*, kā *cow*, rām *room*, rāst *rust*, slām *slumber*, þāzn *thousand*.
2. OE. medial -ug-, § 114: fāl *fowl*, kāl *cowl*.
3. Rarely OE. u before n + consonant, § 115: ānd *hound*, drānd *to drown*.
4. OE. a, ea before r + consonant, § 61: ād *hard*, bān *child*, wām *warm*.
5. OE. e, eo before r + consonant, § 74: āt *heart*, dwāf *dwarf*, wāk (noun) *work*.
6. OE. ēo before r + consonant, § 189: dālin *darling*, fādin *farthing*.
7. O. Fr. er before a following consonant, § 207: pāsn *parson*, sāvnt *servant*.
8. Lit. Engl. au in French words, § 235: dāt *doubt*, gān *gown*, pāðe(r) *powder*.

ī.

§ 39. Windhill ī corresponds to :

1. OE. i before ld, § 92: mīld *mild*, wīld *wild*.
2. OE. i before ht, § 93: brīt *bright*, nīt *night*, sīt *sight*.
3. OE. medial -ig-, § 94: stil (OE. stigel) *stile*, tīl *tile*.
4. OE. e before ld, § 78: fīld *field*, wīld *to wield*.
5. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 79: bīzm *besom*, wīl (adv.) *well*.
6. OE. y before ht, § 118: flīt *flight*, frīt *fright*.
7. OE. y before ld, § 119: bīld *to build*.
8. Germanic æ (WS. æ, O. North. ē), § 130: īmin *evening*, nīdl *needle*, þrīd *thread*.

9. OE. ē, § 155: *i he, wī we*.
10. OE. ē, ā (i-umlaut of ō), § 147: *blid* to bleed, *gīs* geese, *kil* to cool.
11. Anglian ē, ēo (= WS. ie), § 150: *beliv* to believe, *litnin* lightning, *sīn* seen.
12. Rarely OE. ī, § 158: *sī* to sigh.
13. OE. ēo, § 187: *dīp* deep, *nī* knee, *trī* tree, *wīl* wheel.
14. Lit. Engl. ij in French words, § 232: *bīf* beef, *pīs* piece.

ū.

§ 40. Windhill ū corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. o, § 106: *šūl* shovel, *stūp* (ME. stolpe) a post.
2. Rarely OE. u, § 112: *būkp* (ME. bulke) bulk, size, *e-būn* (OE. on-bufan) above, *wūl* wool.

ē.

§ 41. Windhill ē corresponds to :

1. OE. ær before a following consonant, § 69: *gēs* (OE. gær(s)) grass.
2. OE. ir before a following consonant, § 90: *bēk* birch, *þēd* third.
3. Rarely OE. or before a following consonant, § 104, (3): *wēd* word, *wēld* world.
4. OE. ur before a following consonant, § 113, (1): *dēst* durst, *snēt* (ME. snurtin) to snort, snore.
5. OE. yr before a following consonant, § 120, (1): *bēdn* burden, *bēp* birth, *mēðe(r)* murder, *wēk* to work.
6. OE. ī (?) with metathesis of r, § 161: *kēsmes* Christmas, *kēsn* to christen.
7. OE. ēa with metathesis of r, § 185: *gēt* great.

8. Lit. Engl. ē in French words, § 228: **fēniš** to furnish, **kēn** currant.

3. The Diphthongs.

ai.

§ 42. Windhill ai corresponds to:

1. OE. ī, § 156: *ais* ice, *bait* to bite, *raiv* to tear, *sail* (ME. *sīlen*) to strain, *swaim* to climb a tree, *waif* wife.
2. OE. ī (i-umlaut of ū), § 175: *aid* hide, *skin*, *māis* mice.
3. Rarely OE. i, § 95: *ai* (accented form) *I*.
4. Lit. Engl. ai in French words, § 229: *paint* *pint*, *sailm* *asylum*, *tais* to entice.

ei.

§ 43. Windhill ei corresponds to:

1. OE. e (Germanic e, and the i-umlaut of a) in originally open syllables, § 87: *beid* bead, *eit* to eat, *meit* meat, *neiv* fist, *steil* to steal.
2. OE. e before ht, § 86: *feit* to fight, *reit* right.
3. Rarely OE. æ (ea), § 67: *eit* (O. North. *æhto*, *æhta*) *eight*.
4. WS. ā, O. North. ē before a following k, § 132: *leitš* leech, *speitš* speech.
5. OE. ā (i-umlaut of a) before a following k, § 138: *bleitš* to bleach, *reik* to reach.
6. Rarely OE. ā in other cases, § 139: *lein* to lean, *spreid* to spread, *kei* key.
7. Rarely OE. ēa, § 182: *ei* high, *nei* nigh, near.

oi.

§ 44. Windhill oi corresponds to :

1. OE. o in originally open syllables, § 109: *foil foal, koil coal, oil hole, þoil to give ungrudgingly, þroit throat.*
2. Lit. Engl. oi in French words, § 216: *boil to boil, oil oil.*
3. Lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 219: *doit to dote, toist to toast.*

ui.

§ 45. Windhill ui corresponds to :

1. OE. ð, § 163: *bluid blood, duin done, uin (ME. hōnen) to treat badly, harass, tuip tooth.*
2. Lit. Engl. uw in French words, § 221: *buit boot, ful fool, gruin a pig's snout.*

eu.

§ 46. Windhill eu corresponds to :

1. OE. e, eo, +w, § 85: *eu ewe, streu to strew.*
2. OE. ēaw, § 180: *deu dew, feu few, teu (OE. tēawian) to work zealously.*
3. Rarely OE. ēow, § 190: *seu to sew, tšeū to chew.*

iu.

§ 47. Windhill iu corresponds to :

1. OE. iw, § 96: *tliu (OE. cliwe) a ball of string or worsted.*
2. Rarely OE. u, § 116: *þriu through.*
3. OE. īw, § 159: *spiu to vomit, tiuzdē Tuesday.*
4. OE. ð before a following k, m, and when final, § 164: *iuk hook, tiuk took.*

gium *gum*, lium *loom*.

diu *to do*, iniu (pl.) *enough*.

5. OE. ēow, § 190: bliu *blew*, briu *to brew*, niu *knew*.
6. Lit. Engl. juw in French words, § 237: flute(r) *future*, ius *use*, iuz *to use*, viu *view*.
7. Lit. Engl. uw in French words, § 239: bliu *blue*, friut *fruit*, riubub *rhubarb*, siu *to sue*.

ou.

§ 48. Windhill ou corresponds to:

1. OE. al before a following d, § 64: koud *cold*, oud *old*.
2. OE. o before ht, § 101: bout *bought*, doute(r) *daughter*.
3. OE. o, older ö, before ht, § 167: brout *brought*, þout *thought*.
4. ME. ow (OE. -og-), § 102: floun *flown*.
5. OE. ol before a following consonant, § 103: bouste(r) *bolster*, kouk *coke*, out *holt*.
6. OE. öw, § 166: flou *to flow*, grou *to grow*.
7. O. Norse au, § 184: loup *to leap, jump*.
8. Rarely OE. āw, § 123: out *aught*, soul *soul*.
9. Rarely OE. æ before a following ht, § 140: tout *taught*.
10. Lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 220: boul *bowl*, pouts *to poach*.
11. al before d in French words, § 199: skoud *to scald*.

ee.

§ 49. Windhill ee corresponds to:

1. OE. a in originally open syllables, § 70: beed *to bathe*, eeg (OE. haga) *the berry of the hawthorn*, neeg (OE. gnagan) *to gnaw*, reeðe(r) *rather*, speen (OE. spanan) *to wean*, teem *tame*.

2. ME. ai, ei from OE. æg, § 65: *dee day, eel hail, sneel snail.*
3. ME. ei from OE. eg, O. Norse ei, § 84: *breed* (OE. *bregdan*) *to resemble, reen rain, been* (O. Icel. *beinn*) *near, direct.*
4. Rarely WS. ē, O. North. ē, § 133: *bleet to bleat, ee(r) hair.*
5. Rarely OE. ē (i-umlaut of ā), § 141: *leedi lady, tlee clay.*
6. O. Norse ei, § 127: *leek to play, week weak.*
7. Lit. Engl. ei in French words, § 204: *beekn bacon, eenšn ancient, plees place.*
8. O. Fr. ar before a following consonant, § 203: *geed guard, kweet quart, tseedž to charge.*
9. Lit. Engl. ā in French words, § 195: *meestē(r) master, pleestē(r) plaster.*

iə.

§ 50. Windhill iə corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. ea, æ, a, § 68: *biæd beard, iærin herring.*
2. OE. e before r not followed by another consonant, § 75: *bie(r) to bear, swie(r) to swear.*
3. Rarely OE. er before a following consonant, § 74: *iəþ earth, liən to learn.*
4. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 82: *friet to fret, riəp to reap.*
5. Rarely OE. i, § 98: *fliə(r) (Norw. flira) to laugh or sneer at.*
6. WS. ē, O. North. ē, § 131: *dried to dread, miəl meal, repast, wiə(r) where.*
7. OE. ē (i-umlaut of ā), § 137: *diəl deal. iəl to heal, sie sea, tliən clean.*

8. OE. ēa, § 179: *briēd bread*, *striē straw*, *þriēp (OE. prēapian) to contradict*.

9. OE. ēo before a following r, § 188: *biē(r) beer*, *diē(r) dear*.

10. Lit. Engl. ij in French words, § 231: *biēk beak*, *fliētē(r) feature*, *viēl veal*.

11. Lit. Engl. ie in French words, § 233: *fliēs fierce*, *tliē(r) clear*.

oə.

§ 51. Windhill oə corresponds to :

1. OE. eal, al in the combinations lf, OE. lh, lk, ll, lm, lv, § 62: *koef calf*, *woef (OE. walh) sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste*, *boek balk, beam*, *boeld (ME. balled) bald*, *poem palm*, *soev salve*.

2. ME. aw (of various origins), § 63: *moek (ME. mauk) maggot*, *soe he saw*, *kroel to crawl*.

3. OE. or before a following consonant, § 104: *boen born*, *oes horse*, *þoen thorn*.

4. OE. āw, § 123: *bloē to blow*, *noē to know*, *snoē snow*.

5. O. Norse au, § 184: *goēm heed, care*, *roēt to bray*.

6. O. Fr. al before k, m, l, § 198: *goēki lefthanded*, *boēm balm*, *boēl ball*.

7. Lit. Engl. long open o in French words, § 225: *doēb to daub, smear*, *džoēnes jaundice*, *poez to kick*, *foētn fortune*, *oēðē(r) to order*.

uə.

§ 52. Windhill uə corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. o, § 105: *uēp hope*, *nuez nose*, *fluet to float*.

2. Rarely OE. o before a following r or r + consonant, § 104 (2): *smue(r) to smother*, *buēd board*, *uēd hoard*.

3. Rarely OE. u before a following r or r+consonant, § 113, (3): *muēn to mourn*.
4. OE. eol, § 83: *juēk yolk*.
5. OE. a before mb, § 66: *kuēm comb, wuēm womb*.
6. OE. ā, § 122: *buēn bone, duef dough, nuēn none, suēp soap, tluēp cloth, uem home, ues, uest (OE. hās) hoarse*.
7. OE. ō before a following r, § 165: *dlue(r) (ME. glōren) to stare, muē(r) moor*.
8. Lit. Engl. long open o in French words, § 223: *kuēd cord, fues force*.
9. Lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 218: *nuētis notice, tluēk cloak*.
10. Lit. Engl. ue before a following r in French words, § 222: *pue(r) poor*.

āe.

§ 53. Windhill āe corresponds to:

1. OE. a, ea before a following r, § 61: *dāe(r) dare, ae(r) (accented form) are*.
2. OE. e, eo before a following r, § 74: *wāe(r) worse, stāe(r) star*.
3. OE. ū before a following r, § 172: *kāe(r) dān to bend down, sāe(r) sour*.
4. Lit. Engl. auē before a following r in French words, § 236: *āe(r) hour, tāe(r) tower*.

4. The Triphthongs.

aiē.

§ 54. Windhill aiē corresponds to:

1. OE. ī before a following r, § 157: *aiēn iron, spaie(r) spire*.
2. OE. ī (i-umlaut of ū) before a following r, § 176: *faiē(r) fire, aie(r) to hire*.

3. Lit. Engl. *aie* in French words, § 230: *raiet* *riot*,
umpaie(r) *umpire*.

iuə.

§ 55. Windhill *iuə* corresponds to :

1. Lit. Engl. *uə* before a following *r* in French words,
§ 240: *siuə(r)* *sure*.

2. Lit. Engl. *juə* before a following *r* in French words,
§ 238: *kiuə(r)* *cure*, *piuə(r)* *pure*.

ouə.

§ 56. Windhill *ouə* corresponds to :

Rarely OE. *ēow* before a following *r*, § 190: *fouə(r)*
four.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

The Vowels of Accented Syllables.

In treating the vowels in accented syllables it is necessary to distinguish between vowels which were originally in closed syllables, e. g. OE. *dæg day*, *helpan to help*; and those which were originally in open syllables, e. g. OE. *dagas days*, *etan to eat*. In the former case OE. æ (a), o, e, usually appear in the W. dialect as a, o, e, whereas in the latter case they have generally become ee, oi, ei. When through inflectional endings the vowels æ (a), o, e were in OE. now in a closed syllable, now in an open one, the W. dial. has mostly generalised the vowel of the open syllable.

1. The Short Vowels.

a.

§ 57. West Germanic a (= West Saxon æ (a), and ɔ before nasals) in originally closed syllables usually appears as a in the W. dialect.

Examples are: *adl* (ME. *adlen*, O. Icel. öðla) *to earn*, *afte(r)* *after*, *akoen* *acorn*, *aks* *axe*, *am* (Sievers, OE. Gr.

§ 427) *am, am ham, ame(r) hammer, and hand, anl handle, ansē(r) answer, antm anthem, anvil anvil, ap* (ME. happen) *to wrap with clothes, apl apple, are arrow, as ashes, as-midin ash-pit, at hat, ave(r)-meil* (cp. ME. *havere oats*) *oat-meal, pret. bad* (§ 373) *invited, bak back, pret. ban bound, band string, cord, bare barrow, bas door mat, hassock, baþ bath, be-gan began, blak black, brak broke, brakn* (OE. *brace, gen. bracce*) *a kind of fern, bran* (OE. *brand*) *niu quite new, bras brass, pret. brast burst, brat* (O. Ir., OE. *bratt*) *pinafore, braznt brazen, impudent, daft foolish, silly, cowardly, dam* (O. Icel. *damr*) *large pond, dlad glad, dlas glass, dlazn to glaze, dlaznē(r) glazier, draft draught, draft, fadm* (ME. *fadme*) *fathom, falø fallow, pret. fan found, fan* *fan, fasn to fasten, conclude a bargain by paying earnest money, flaks flax, flask flask, flat flat, gab* (cp. O. Icel. *gabba*) *impudence, gad* (cp. OE. *ge-gada* companion) *to gossip, gales gallows, gam* (OE. *gamnian*) *game, to gamble, gane(r) gander, pret. gat got, pret. ga(v) gave, jarø yarrow, kaf chaff, kal to gossip, kan a can, kan* (unaccented form *kn* more frequently with assimilation *kn*) *can, kani knowing, intelligent, skilful, nimble, kanl candle, kap a cap, kasl castle, kat cat, krab crab, krabd* (ME. *crabed*) *angry, krabi ill-tempered, kraft craft, Krak to crack, kram to cram, press close together, kramp cramp, lad* (ME. *ladde*) *lad, laf* (with *a* from the pp.) *to laugh, laftē(r) laughter, lam lamb, land land, lap lap, lappet, lap* (ME. *lappen*) *to wrap up, las* (ME. *lassē*) *lass, last last, latest, lat late, lat* (OE. *lætt*) *lath, late(r) latter, later, man man, mare marrow, nap nap, narø narrow, nat gnat, pak* (ME. *pakke*) *a pack, bundle, pan pan, paþ path, pratli gently, softly, rafte(r) rafter, ram ram, rami* (cp. OE. *hramsa* wild garlic) *having a strong taste or smell, raml to ramble, ran ran, sad sad, saklēs* (OE. *saclēas* innocent) *simple, silly, sam up* (OE. *samnian*)

to pick up, gather together, sal (emphatic form, see § 391) *shall, sale* *sallow, sand* *sand, sap* *sap*, pret. *sat* *sat, satl* (OE. *sahtlian* to make peace, reconcile) *to settle, skaftin* *shafting, skab* *scab, skraml* *scramble, skrat* (ME. *scrattin*) *to scratch, slafte(r)* *to slaughter, slak* *slack, slave(r)* *slaver, spak* (§ 372) *spake, spoke, span* *to span, pret. span* *span, spare* *sparrow, staf* *staff, pret. stak* *stuck, stamp* *to stamp, stand* *to stand, šade* *shadow, šaft* *shaft, šale* *shallow, šap* *shape, tale* *tallow, tan* *to tan, tap* *tap, tate(r)* *tatter, tlam* (see N.E.D. sub *clem*) *to famish, tlap* *clap, tlate(r)* *to clatter, trap* *trap, tšavl* *to nibble at, gnaw, chew, þak* *thatch, ðat* (see § 354) *that, pret. þrast* (§ 367, 4) *thrust.*

§ 58. a preceded by w and not followed by r + consonant (§ 61), g, n, š (§ 59), has become o. It has also become o when followed by ls, lt :

swole *swallow, swom* *swam, swon* *swan, swop* *to exchange, barter, wokn* *to waken, woks* *wax, wonde(r)* *to wander, wont* *want, wo(r)* (emphatic from § 396) *was, wot* *what, wote(r)* *water, wotš* *watch.*

fols *false, molt* *malt, olt* *halt, solt* *salt.*

a has also become o in *omest* *almost, oles* *always, moni* *many.*

§ 59. a, followed by g, n, š, has become e :

bær (cp. O.Icel. *banga* to hammer) *to throw violently, berk* *bank; pret. bren* *brought, pret. den* (§ 367) *reviled, reproached, drenk* *drank, pret. er* (§ 367) *hung, en* *to hang, enk* *hank, enkl* *anckle, enke(r)* *anchor, emer* *among, pret. fien* (§ 367) *threw, gen* *gang, gen-wee* *thoroughfare, passage, kenke(r)* (ME. *cancren*) *to become rusty, krenk* *crank, len* *to long for, len-setl* *a long bench with a high back, len* (this form is gradually going out of use. The younger

people say *lon*) *long*, *ner* to *gnaw as a pain*, *ner-neel* (see N.E.D. sub *agnail*) *corn on the foot*, *prenk* *prank, trick*, pret. *ren* (§ 367) *rang*, *ren* *wrong*, *renk* *rank*, *renl* (ME. *wranglen*) *to pull the hair of the head*, pret. *sen* *sang*, *sen* (this form is now seldom heard among the younger people. Its place is gradually being supplanted by *son*) *song*, *senk* *sank*, pret. *slen* *slung*, pret. *slenk* *slunk*, *spenk* *to beat, hit*, *spren* *sprang*, pret. *stenk* *stunk*, pret. *sten* *stung*, *stren* (archaic, *stron* is now generally used) *strong*, pret. *swen* *swung*, *swenki* *small beer*, *šenk* *shank*, pret. *šrenk* *shrunk*, *ter* (cp. ME. *tange*, O.Icel. *tangi* *sting, dagger*) *a sting, to sting*, *terz* *tongs*, pret. *tlen* *clung*, *tlenk* *to beat, flog*, *þren* *busy*, *þenk* *to thank*, *wen* *thong*. *mune(r)* *monger* is a loan-word.

beg *bag*, **bleg** *blackberry*, **breg** *to brag*, **deg** (cp. Swed. *dagga* *to bedew*) *to sprinkle with water*, **dreg** *to drag*, **fleg** *flag*, **geg** (ME. *gaggin*) *to gag*, **reg** *rag*, **seg** (ME. *saggin* *to sink down*) *to distend*, **stege(r)** *to stagger*, **šege** *shag*, **tleg** (Lowland Scot. *clag*) *to stick to, as thick mud to the boots*, **tlegi** *sticky, dirty (of roads), stopped up with dirt*, **weg** *to wag*, **wegr** *wagon*.

eš *ash-tree*, **leš** (ME. *laschin*) *to comb*, **meš** (cp. § 125) *mash*, **peš** (ME. *paschen*) *to dash, strike hard*, **pleš** (Swed. *plaska*) *to splash*, **reš** *rash*, **smeš** *smash*, **weš** *to wash*.

§ 60. In the following words we have e which in many of the examples is no doubt the i-umlaut of a: **besk** *to bask*, **elte(r)** (Prompt. Parv. *heltir*, Town. *Myst. heltere*, Stratmann) *halter*, **esked** (cp. ME. *aske* *lizard*) *newt, eft*, **espin** *aspin*, **etš** (ME. *hacchen*) *to hatch*, **fest** *fast*, **geðe(r)**, *to gather*, **te-geðe(r)** *together*, **kest** (ME. *kesten*) *to cast*, **kredl** *cradle*, **swets** (OE. *swæcc* *taste*) *a small sample of cloth, cotton, etc.*, **weðe(r)** *whether*, **wesp** *wasp*, **ev** *have*, **ez** *hast, has*, **ed** *had*.

§ 61. *a* + medial *r* has become *ā* before consonants : *ād* *hard*, *ādn* *to harden*, *ām* *harm*, *ām* *arm*, *āp* *harp*, *āt* *thou art*, *āvis(t)* *harvest*, *bāk* *bark*, *bāli* *barley*, *bān* *child*, *dān* *to darn*, *fān* *fern*, *jād* (OE. *geard*) *yard*, *jān* *yarn*, *kāt* *cart*, *māk* *mark*, *pāk* *park*, *spāk* *spark*, *stāk* (always used in combination with some other word, as *stāk mad* *very angry*, *stāk neēkt* *quite naked*, cp. OE. *stearc* *strong, severe*), *stākn̄* (OE. *stearcian*) *to grow stiff, stiffen*, *swām* *swarm*, *swāp̄* (OE. *sweard*) *the skin of bacon*, *swāpi* *swarthy*, *šāp̄* *sharp*, *tādz* *towards*, *wād* *ward*, *wāf* *wharf*, *wāk* (OE. *wærç*) *pain*, as verb *to ache*, *wām* *warm*, *wān* *to warn*, *wāp̄* *warp*, *wāt* *wart*.

But it has become *āe* before medial and final *r* in : *āe(r)* *are*, *dāe(r)* *dare*.

§ 62. *eal, al* has become *œ* in the combinations *If*, OE. *lh, lk, ll, (l), lm, lv* :

If : *koef* *calf*, *koef* *calf (of the leg)*, *oef* *half*, *oepni* *half-penny*, *oepəþ* *halfpennyworth*.

lh : *woef*, *woefi* (OE. *walh* *sickly taste*) *sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste*.

lk : *boek* (OE. *balca*) *bulk, beam*, *stoek* *stalk, stem*, *toek* *to talk*, *woek* *to walk*, *tšoek* *chalk*.

ll, (l) : *boeld* (ME. *balled*) *bald*, *foel* *to fall*, *foel* *a veil*, *goel* *gall*, *koel* (cp. *kal* § 57) *to call*, *oel* *all*, *oel* *hall*, *smoel* *small*, *stoel* *stall*, *woel* *wall*.

lm : *poem* *palm*. *lv* : *soev* *salve*.

§ 63. ME. *aw* (of various origins) has become *œ* :

doen *dawn*, *droe* *to draw*, *kroel* *crawl*, *loë* *law*, *moek* (ME. *mauk* Stratmann) *maggot*, *oek* *hawk*, *oel* *awl*, pret. *soe* *saw*, *tloë* *claw*.

§ 64. *al* has become *ou* before a following *d* :

boud *bold*, *foud* *fold*, *foud* *to fold*, *koud* *cold*, *oud* *old*.

The regularly developed form **oud** *to hold* is now only used in the phrase **oud on stop!** The usual form **od** *to hold*, is a new formation from the past participle **odn**, where the stem vowel has been regularly shortened before the following **n**.

§ 65. ME. **ai**, **ei** from OE. **aeg** has become **ee**:

breañ *brain*, **dee** *day*, **deøzi** *daisy*, **eel** (OE. **hægl**) *hail*, **feen** (OE. **fægen**) *glad*, *fain*, *gladly*, **fee(r)** *fair*, **mee** (shortened in **mebi** *perhaps*, *possibly*) *may*, **meen** *main*, **neel** *nail*, **peel** *pail*, **slee** (a new formation from the past participle) *to slay*; **sleen** *slain*, **sneel** *snail*, **teel** *tail*.

§ 66. **a** became lengthened to **ā** before **mb** already in early ME., as is shown by the forms in the *Ormulum*. This **ā** fell together with OE. **ā**=Germanic **ai**, and has accordingly become **ue** (see § 122) in the Windhill dialect: **kuem** *comb*, **wuem** *womb*. **lam** *lamb* is a new formation from the plural, where the short vowel was regularly retained, cp. *Ormulum* acc. sing. **lamb** (i. 274) beside acc. plural **lammbre** (ii. 109). The word-lists in vol. v of Ellis' *Early English Pronunciation* show that all English dialects have a short vowel in this word.

§ 67. **a** has become **ei** in **eit** *eight*, **eit'** (with suspended **t**) *eighth*. In **meitš** *to measure* the **ei** seems to point to an OE. **æ** (cp. §§ 132, 138).

§ 68. **a** has become **iə** in **bied** *beard*, **giə(r)** *gear*, **iərin** *herring*.

§ 69. **æ** (**a**) has become **ə** in **gəs** (OE. **gær**, ME. **gers**) *grass*; and **oi** in **loin** (OE. **lane**, **lone**) *lane*, which has had the same development as old **o** in open syllables. See § 109.

§ 70. Short **a** in originally open syllables has usually become **ee**. But see § 71.

Examples are: **beed** *to bathe*, **beek** *to bake*, but **bak-stn** (lit.

bake-stone) the iron plate on which oat cakes are baked, **bee(r)** bare, pret. **bee(r)** bore, **bleed** blade, **bleez** to blaze, **deel** dale, **dleə(r)** (ME. glarin) to stare hard, **dreeg** (OE. dragan) to drawl, **dreek** drake, **eeg** (OE. haga) the berry of the hawthorn (the tree is called *tšiz* en bried *trī* lit. cheese and bread tree), **eke(r)** acre, **eel** ale, **ee(r)** hare, **eet** to hate, **be-eev** to behave, **fee(r)** to fare, **fleek** flake, **freem** (OE. framian) to make a start or beginning, **nitin-geel** nightingale, **geep** to gape, **e-geet** in action, at work, **geet** gate, **greev** grave, **greez** to graze, **keek** bread of every kind, **kee(r)** care, **kreev** to crave, **leedl** ladle, **leem** lame, **leed** (O.Icel. *hlæða*) barn, **meed** made, **meeg** (OE. maga) maw, **meen** mane, **nit-mee(r)** nightmare, **meet** (M. Low Germ. mate) mate, **neeg** (OE. gnagan) to gnaw, **neekt** naked, **neem** name, **preet** (cp. Swed. *prata*) to prate, babble, **reek** rake, **reede(r)** rather, **seeg** (OE. sage) a saw, **seek** sake, **seel** sale, **seem** same, **skeelz** scales, **skreep** to scrape, **sneek** snake, **snee(r)** snare, **speed** spade, **speen** (OE. spanan) to wean, **spoe(r)** to spare, **steek** stake, **steel** (pret.) stole, **stee(r)** to stare, **steevz** staves, **sweeپ** the handle of a machine, **šeed** shade, **šeem** shame, **šeə(r)** share, **šeev** to shave, **teel** tale, **teem** tame, **teen** taken, **weed** to wade, **weel** whale, **ween** to wane, **wee(r)** (ME. waren) to spend or lay out money, **weev** wave, **weeve(r)** to waver.

§ 71. æ (a) appears as a in: **gavlek** (OE. *gafoluc* spear) crowbar, **mak** to make, **ransak** (O.Icel. *rannsaka* to search a house) to ransack, **tak** (O.Icel. *taka*) to take, **šak** to shake, **šakl** shackle, **sadl** saddle, **stapl** staple, **faðe(r)** father, **laðe(r)** foam, froth. On the stem-vowel in the last five words cp. the similar double development in German in such words as **Schemel**, **Vater**, **nehmen**, beside **Semmel**, **Vetter**, **kommen**. See Paul-Braune's Beiträge, vol. ix. pp. 101-135.

e.

§ 72. West Germanic e and the OE. e which arose from the i-umlaut of a(o) have fallen together in the W. dialect as also in all other Mod. Engl. dialects, at least so far as can be ascertained from the word-lists in Ellis' EEP. vol. v.

§ 73. e (=old e and the i-umlaut of a(o)) in originally closed syllables usually appears as e in the W. dialect; and also when e was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r.

1. Old e:

beg (OE. *bedecian*) *to beg*, **bele** *to bellow*, **bel** *bell*, **delf** *a stone quarry*, **delv** *to delve*, **elde(r)-tri** *elder*, **elm** *elm*, **elp** *help*, **etn** *eaten*, **enent** *anent*, *opposite*, **evm** *heaven*; **felt** *felt*, **feðe(r)** *feather*, **fres** *fresh*, **getn** (pp.) *got*, **jel** *yell*, **jelp** *yelp*, **kres** *cress*, **leðe(r)** *leather*, **melt** *to melt*, **nest** *nest*, **nevi** (OE. *nefa*, gen. *nefan*) *nephew*, **rekn** *to reckon*, **sel(sen)** *self*, **seldn** (OE. *seldon*) *seldom*, **sevm** *seven*, **skelp** (ME. *skelpen*) *to beat*, *flog*, **skep** (O. Icel. *skeppa*) *a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, etc.*, **smel** *to smell*, **smelt** *to smelt*, **spek** *speck*, **swel** *to swell*, **swelt** (OE. *sweltan*) *to faint, be overpowered by heat*, **twenti** *twenty*, **þreš** *to thresh*, **þreſld** *threshold*, **weft** *weft*, **west** *west*, **weðe(r)** (OE. *weder*) *weather*, **weðe(r)** (OE. *weðer*) *the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before*.

2. i-umlaut of a(o):

bed *bed*, **bef** (Germ. *bäffen* *to bark*) *to cough*, **bek** (O. Icel. *bekkr*) *beck*, **beli** *belly*, **belesez** *bellows*, **belt** *belt*, **bend** *to bend*, **benk** *bench*, **best** *best*, **bete(r)** *better*, **blend** *to blend*, **dregz** *dregs*, **drenš** *to drench*, **eb** *ebb*, **edž** *edge*, **edž** *hedge*, **eft** (O. Icel. *hepti*) *haft*, **eg** (O. Icel. *eggia*) *to urge, incite*,

eg (O. Icel. egg) *egg*, *el* *hell*, *els* *else*, *em* *hem*, *en* *hen*, *end*, *esp* (O. Icel. hespa) *hasp*, *evi* *heavy*, *fel* *to fell*, *kemp* (ME. kempe) *short coarse white hairs in wool*, *ketl* *kettle*, *leg* (O. Icel. leggr) *leg*, *lenþ* (by assimilation) *length*, *men* *men*, *mens* (OE. mennisc) *dignity, honour*) *neatness*, *neb* *bill*, *beak*, *nek* *neck*, *net* *net*, *netl* *nettle*, *pen* *pen*, *peni* *penny*, *rest* *rest*, *retš* *wretch*, *seg* *sedge*, *sek* (O. Icel. sekkr) *sack*, *sel* *to sell*, *send* *to send*, *sent* *sent*, *set* *to set*, *slek* *small coal*, *slek* (OE. ge-sleccan) *to extinguish a fire, etc.* *with water*, *snek* (ME. snekke) *the latch of a door*, *spend* *to spend*, *stem* *stem*, *step* *step*, *strenþ* (by assimilation) *strength*, *stretš* *to stretch*, *šel* *shell*, *šelf* *shelf*, *tel* *to tell*, *temz* (cp. OE. temsian) *to strain, pass through a sieve*) *a coarse hair sieve*, *tletš* (cp. O. Icel. klekia) *to hatch, bring forth*) *brood of chickens*, *twelft* *twelfth*, *twelv* *twelve*, *web* *web*, *wed* (OE. weddian) *to wed, marry*, *wedž* *wedge*, *wel* (noun) *well*, *welp* *whelp*, *oue(r)-welt* (O. Icel. velta) *to turn over, upset*, *went* *went*, *wet-stn* *whet-stone*.

§ 74. *er* in the combination *er* + consonant has partly become *ā* and partly *ie*. The reasons for this twofold development are not clear. It is probable that the words belonging to the latter category have been influenced by the literary language :

āt *heart*, *bāk* *to bark*, *bākm* (OE. *beorg* + *ham* N.E.D. sub *bargham*) *collar of a horse*, *bām* *barm*, *bān* (OE. *bern*) *barn*, *dāk* *dark*, *dwāf* *dwarf*, *fāt* (ME. ferten) *pedere*, *kāv* *to carve*, *smāt* *smart*, *stāv* *to starve*, *wāk* (noun) *work*, *wāte* (lit. *work-day*) *week-day*.

Before final *r* we have *āe* : *fāe(r)* (OE. *feorr*) *far*, *stāe(r)* (OE. *steorra*) *star*, *wāe(r)* (O. Icel. *verre*) *worse*.

iənist *earnest*, *iəþ* *earth*, *jied* (3 feet) *yard*, *jiən* *yearn*, *liən* *learn*.

The following words seem to have been borrowed from the literary language : **bēn** to *burn*, **gēn** (with metathesis) to *grin*, **wēp** *worth*, **sued** (older **swēd**) *sword*.

§ 75. **e** has become **ie** before **r** not followed by another consonant: **bie(r)** to *bear*, **pie(r)** *pear*, **smie(r)** to *smear*, **spie(r)** *spear*, **swie(r)** to *swear*, **wie(r)** to *wear*, **šie(r)** to *shear*. The only exceptions are : **tāe(r)** *tar*, **mee(r)** *mare*.

§ 76. **e** (i-umlaut of **a**) has become **i** before original **n** (now **r** or **nž**) : **in** (ME. *hengen*, O. Icel. *hengia*) to *hang*, **inž** *hinge*, **inlnd** *England*, **inliš** *English*, **din** up (O. Icel. *dengia* to *beat, strike*) to *reproach*, **flin** (ME. *flingen*) to *fling, throw*, **krinž** to *cringe*, **linę(r)** to *linger*, **minł** to *mingle*, **sinž** to *singe*, **slin** to *sling*, **strin** *string*, **pink** to *think*, **win** *wing*.

§ 77. **e** has become **i** in : **giv, gi** to *give*, **kil** to *kill*, **milk** *milk*, **rid** *rid*, **siks** *six*, **sikst** *sixth*, **silve(r)** *silver*, **siste(r)** (probably from O. Icel. *syster*) *sister*, **sits** *such*, **šil** (ME. *schellen*, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has *schillin*, Stratmann) to *shell peas, etc.*, **wile** *willow*, **witš** *which*.

§ 78. **e** has become **i** before **ld** : **fild** *field*, **jild** to *yield*, **šild** *shield*, **wild** to *wield*.

§ 79. The following words also have **i** : **bizm** *besom*, **dī** (ME., Ormulum *degen*) to *die*, **wil** (adv.) *well*, but see § 399, **wīzl** *weazel*, and **gīn** *given*.

§ 80. **e** has become **o** in : **fotš** (OE. *feccan*, Town. Myst. *fetche*, *foche*, inf. *fott*, Sweet, HES. p. 315) to *fetch*, **jole** *yellow*, **jon** *yon*, **swole** (OE. *swelgan*, ME., Ormulum *swollžhen*) to *swallow*. We have **oe** in **joen** (OE. *geonian*, also *gānian*) to *yawn*.

§ 81. **e** has become **ə** in : **beri** *berry*, **(ə)levm** *eleven*, **jəst** *yeast*, **jəstədə** *yesterday*, **jet** *yet*.

§ 82. e has become iə in: *estiəd instead, friət to fret, bewail, mourn over, riəp to reap*, but cp. Sievers, OE. Gr. § 382, 3.

§ 83. OE. eol has become ue in: *juək yolk*.

§ 84. ME. ei from OE. eg, O. Icel. ei has become ee: *breed* (OE. *bregdan*) *to resemble, act like another person*, *geen* (OE. *gegn*) *near, direct, lee to lay, leəd laid, leən lain, reen rain, see to say, seal sail, wee way, eweə away*.

been (O. Icel. *beinn*) *near, direct, beet bait, nee nay, steek steak, ðeə (accented form) they, ðeə(r) (accented form) their.*

e has also become ee in *feəvr(r) fever*.

§ 85. e(eo)+w has become eu: *eu ewe, streu to strew*.

§ 86. The combination eht has become eit: *feit to fight, reit right, streit straight*.

§ 87. Short e in open syllables has generally become ei:

beid bead, breitsč (O. Fris. breke) a breach, eit to eat, bried-fleik (O. Icel. fleki hurdle) a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried, meil meal-flower, meit meat, neid to knead, neiv (O. Icel. knefi) fist, pei (ME. pese) pea, speik to speak, bed-steid bedstead, steil to steal, steil (OE. stel) the handle of a pot or jug, steim (OE. ge-stefnian, a-stemnian to give voice for, appoint) to bespeak, treid to tread, wei (OE. wegan) to weigh, weik (ME. weke) the wick of a lamp or candle, weiv to weave.

§ 88. Short e in open syllables has remained in: *brek to break, get (O. Icel. geta) to get, lek (O. Icel. leka) to leak*.

i.

§ 89. OE. i has generally remained:

bid to invite to a funeral, pp. bidn, big big, large, bil

bill, bin (OE. *binnan*) *within, bind to bind, bin* (ME. *bing*, O. Icel. *bingr*) *a bin, bit a bit, bite(r) bitter, bitn bitten, bits bitch, biznes business, blind blind, blis bliss, brim* (ME. *brimmen*, cp. O. Icel. *brimi* *burning heat*) *to put the boar to the sow, briñ to bring, dig to dig, dim dim, diš dish, diðe(r)* (ME. *diderin*) *to tremble, shiver with cold, dlite(r) to glitter, drift drift, drink to drink, drivm driven, fidl fiddle, fikl fickle, film film, fin fin, find to find, fine(r) finger, fiš fish, fit ready, prepared, flik flitch, flike(r) to flicker, flint flint, gidi giddy, gift gift, gilt* (OE. *gilte*, O. Icel. *gulta*) *a young female pig, be-gin to begin, grind to grind, grip grip, if if, ik to hitch, il ill, ilt hilt, im him, in, i in, inde(r) (occ. inðe(r)) to hinder, bi-int behind, it it, it to hit, iðe(r) hither, iz is, iz his, kid kid, kin-kof whooping-cough, kirk (ME. *kinken* to pant, *gasp*) to cough (of whooping-cough), kist (O. Icel. *kista*) *chest, box, kit* (ME. *kitte*) *a pail, kitl* (ME. *kitelen*) *to tickle, krisp crisp, lid lid, lig* (OE. *licgan*) *to lie down, lik to lick, lim limb, lip lip, liv to live, live(r) liver, midl middle, miks to mix, mil-deu mildew, mint mint, mis to miss, mizl-tue mistletoe, mist mist, mitš much, nibl to nibble, niml nimble, nit (OE. *hnitu*) *nit, pig pig, pigin a small water-can, pits pitch, pip pith, prik to prick, prikl prickle, rib rib, ridl* (ME. *ridil* Prom. Parv. p. 433, Stratmann) *sieve, ridn ridden, rift* (ME. *riften*) *to belch, eructate, rim rim, rind rind, rin ring, rin to wring, rinkl wrinkle, rist wrist, rizn risen, ritn written, sift to sift, sikl sickle, grun-sil groundsel, silk silk, sin since, sinde(r) cinder, sin to sing, sink to sink, sit to sit, siv sieve, skift to shift, remove, skin skin, skil skill, slidn (pp.) *slid, slink to slink, slip to slip, slipi slippery, slitn* (pp.) *slit, smitl to infect, smitn smitten, smiþ smith, smiði smithy, spil to spill, spin to spin, spinl spindle, spit to spit, spitek spigot, sprin to spring, stik stick, stik to stick, stil still, stin to sting, stink****

to stink, stitš stitch, strikn stricken, swift swift, swil swilian) to rinse, wash out, swilinz thin liquid food for pigs, swim to swim, swin to swing, šift chemise, šilin shilling, šin shin, šip ship, šrimp shrimp, šrink to shrink, tik tick, til to till, tin tin, tit, titi (OE. tit) breastmilk, tlim to climb, tlir to cling, tlip to clip, tšikin chicken, tšilde(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bān is always used) children, tšin chin, twig twig, twin twin, twinkl to twinkle, twist twist, pik thick, friendly, in love with, þir thing, þisl thistle, þrift thrift, ðis this, wi with, wide widow, widower, wik (O. Icel. vik stirring, moving) quick, alive, wik week, wil (accented form) will, win to win, wind wind, wind to wind, windē window, winte(r) winter, wink to wink, wispe(r) to whisper, wisl to whistle, wit wit, witl (ME. þwitel) large carving knife, witš witch, wizn (OE. wisnian to dry up) to wither.

§ 90. ir + consonant has become ē + consonant :

bēd bird, bēk birch, gēsl gristle, ēd herd, tšētš (but kē-get kirkgate) church, þēd third, þēti thirty, wēl to whirl.

§ 91. i has become e in : gosep gossip, jes yes, sterek (OE. stirc, styric) heifer, e(r) her, tšerop to chirp.

§ 92. i has been lengthened before ld: mild mild, wīld wild. But tšilde(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bān is used) children, owing to the following suffix.

§ 93. ME. iht has become it: brīt bright, līt light, levis, līts the lungs of animals, mīt (noun) might, nīt night, shortened in fotnit fortnight, plīt plight, sīt sight, slit slight, tit tight. weit (OE. gewihte) has been influenced by wei to weigh.

§ 94. Medial OE. ig has become i in : stī sty, ladder, stil (OE. stigel) stile, til tile.

§ 95. i has become ai in: ai (accented form, see § 350) *I*.

§ 96. iw has become iu: tliu (OE. *cliwe*) *a ball of string or worsted*.

§ 97. i has become u in: kud (OE. *cwidu*) *cud, ruš rush, tul to.*

§ 98. i has become ie in: flie(r) (Norw. *flira*) *to laugh or sneer at, striek streak, stripe, ðiez these.*

§ 99. i has become e in: lenit (ME. *lynet*, probably from Fr. *linotte*) *linnet.*

O.

§ 100. OE. o (= West Germanic o) in originally closed syllables has usually remained o; and also when o was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r:

blob (see N.E.D.) *a bubble, bulb, bodm bottom, boks box, bore to borrow, brokn broken, broþ broth, dof to undress, dog dog, dokn (OE. docce) a dock, dolt lump of dirt, don to dress, drop drop, džogl (cp. ME. joggen) to shake, flock flock, fog (ME. fogge) aftergrass, foks fox, fole to follow, fond (ME. fonned, pp. of fonnen be foolish) fond, fotn (pp.) fought, frog frog, frost frost, froþ froth, frozn frozen, god god, gospl gospel, kob-web cob, kod cod, kof cough, kok cock, kokl cockle, koleþ (ME. colop, cp. O. Swed. kollops) slice (of bacon), kope(r) copper, kroft (OE. croft) a small field, krop crop, kros cross, loft loft, lok lock, loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, lop (OE. lopp) flea, lopðed (ME. lopren coagulate) clotted, covered with dirt, lopste(r) lobster, lost lost, lot lot, mos moss, moþ moth, nod (ME. noddan) nap, short sleep, nok*

to knock, not knot, notš notch, od odd, oft offal, oft oft, often, og (ME. *hog*) *the first year's wool of a sheep, oks ox, ole hollow, olin* (OE. *holen*) *the holly-tree, twig of the holly-tree, on* (accented form) *on, op to hop, opm open, ote(r)* *otter, otšed orchard, ovl hovel, plot plot, poks pox, prod to prick, goad, rok rock, rot to rot, slop* (O. Icel. *sloppr*) *the leg of a pair of trousers, slot* (ME. *slot*) *bolt of a door, smok smock, snod* (O. Icel. *snoðinn* *smooth (of hair)*), *smooth, even, snodn to make smooth, snot snot, sod sod, sodnd saturated, wet through, sok sock, sore sorrow, spokn spoken, spot spot, stok stock, stop to stop, šop shop, šot shot, šotn (pp.) shot, tlog a shoe with wooden soles, tlok the common black beetle, tlok to cluck, tlot clot, tlovñ cloven, top top, topin* (ME. *topping*) *the front part of the hair of the head, topl to fall over, tot a small beer glass, trodn trodden, trof trough, tšozn chosen, prosł* (OE. *þrostle*) *thrush, protl* (ME. *þrotlen*) *to press on the windpipe, wovm woven.*

§ 101. *oht* has become *out*: *bout bought, doute(r)* *daughter, rout wrought*. We have however *o* in *fotn* (§ 100) *fought*.

§ 102. ME. *ow* (=OE. *og*) has become *ou*: *reen-bou* *rain-bow, floun* *flown*.

§ 103. *ol + consonant* has become *ou + consonant*: *boul* *bowl, bouste(r)* *bolster, bout bolt, fouk folk, goud gold, kouk* (see N.E.D. sub. *colk*) *coke, cinder, kout colt, out holt, moud-wāp* *a mole, stoun stolen, toul toll.*

But we have *o* in *wod* (accented form) *would*; and *u* in *sud* (accented form) *should*; and *oe* in *noep* (ME. *nolpen* to *strike*) *to beat, strike*.

§ 104. The development of *o* before a following *r*:

(1) *oe*: *boen* *born, foek* *fork, koen* *corn, te-moen* *to-*

morrow, moen, moenin morning, noep north, oen horn, oes horse, stoem storm, swoen sworn, šoen shorn, šoet short, toen torn, þoen thorn.

(2) ue: e-fue(r) before, smue(r) (OE. smorian) *to smother, suffocate.*

bued board, e-fued afford, ued hoard.

(3) ē: spē(r) spur, wēd word, wēld world.

§ 105. o has become ue in: buekr (ME. bolkin) *to belch, retch, fluet float, kuev cove, juek yoke, uep hope, nuez nose, puek* (OE. poca) *sack, pueni pony, puest* (OE. post from Lat. postis) *post, ruez a rose, stuəv stove, suek to soak, suəp* (OE. sop a sup, small quantity (of water)) *a little tea or beer, etc., tšuek to choke.*

NOTE.—Most, if not all, of the above words are early borrowings from the literary language.

§ 106. o has become ū in: smūk *to smoke, šūl shovel, stūp* (ME. stolpe) *a post.*

§ 107. o has become u in: dul *dull, foks-dluv fox-glove, flute(r)* *to flutter, kus* (noun, also used as verb) *kiss, uvm oven.* It is very probable that the u in some of these words goes back to OE. y (§ 121), as has been pointed out by Prof. Napier in the Academy, May 7, 1892, p. 447.

§ 108. o has become e through loss of stress in: ðen *then, wen when.*

§ 109. o in originally open syllables has generally become oi: boil (O.Icel. bolr, ME. bole) *bole of a tree, foil foal, goit* (ME. gote) *channel, mill-stream, koil coal, pig-coit* (OE. cot, cote) *pig-sty, loin* (OE. lone) *lane, loiz* (OE. losian) *to lose, moit mote, oil hole, roid* (mostly used in the plural roidz) *a clearing (of a wood), soil* (OE. sol) *ground,*

earth, soil (OE. *sole*, Lat. *solea*) *sole*, **tlois** (OE. *close*) *a field*, **toidi** *very small*, **þoil** (OE. *þolian* *to endure*) *to give ungrudgingly*, **þroit** *throat*.

§ 110. Short o in open syllables has remained in: **bodi** (OE. **bodig**) *body*, **popi** (OE. **popig**) *poppy*.

u.

§ 111. Short u has generally remained unchanged:

bluðe(r) *to cry, weep*, **buk** *buck*, **bul** *bull*, **bulek** *bullock*, **bun** (pp. of *bind*) *bound*, *obliged*, *beholden*, **bute(r)** *butter*, **busl** *to bustle*, **drukn** (pp.) *drunk*, **dub** *a small pool of water*, **dum** *dumb*, **dun** *to urge for payment*, **dun** *dung*, **ful** *full*, **fule(r)** *fuller*, **fun** (pp.) *found*, **grunsil** *groundsel*, **grunt** *to grunt*, *grumble*, *find fault*, **grund** *ground*, **grunz** (pl.) *sediment*, **þe-gun** *begun*, **gust** *gust*, **guts** (OE. *gutt*) *entrails, belly*, **jur** *young*, **krudl** (cp. ME. *cruddin*) *to curdle*, **krudz** (ME. *crudde*) *curds*, **krum** *crumb*, **krumpl** *to crumple*, **kudl** *to embrace*, **kuf** (*kuft*) *cuff*, **kum** *to come*, **kunin** *cunning*, **kup** *cup*, **lug** (ME. *luggen*, Swed. *lugga* *to lug, drag*) *to pull the hair of the head*, **luv** *lung*, **luv** *love*, **muml** *to mumble*, **mun** (accented form, O.Icel. *muna* *will, shall*) *must*, **musl** *mussel*, **num** *numb*, **nut** *nut*, **pluk** *to pluck*, **pund** *a pound*, **rudi** *ruddy*, **run** *wrong*, **skuft** *the nape of the neck*, **skul** *skull (of the head)*, **skute(r)** *to spill*, **slun** *slung*, **sprun** *sprung*, **spun** *spun*, **stubi** (cp. O.Icel. *stubbi* *stock of a tree*) *short and stiff*, **stump** *stump*, **stun** *to stun*, **stun** *stung*, **stut** (cp. ME. *stutten* *to cease, stay*) *to stutter*, **sum** *some*, **sume(r)** *summer*, **sumet** (lit. *somewhat*) *something, anything*, **sump** *a puddle or dirty pool of water*, **sun** *son*, **sun** *sun*, **sunde** *Sunday*, **sukn** *sunk*, **sun** *sung*, **swum** (pp.) *swum*, **swun** *swung*, **þruk** *shrunk*, **þun** *to shun*,

šuðe(r) (ME. schuderen) *to shudder*, tlur clung, tluste(r) cluster, tub (ME. tubbe) *tub*, tug (ME. tuggen) *to tug*, plod, tuml to *tumble*, tun tun, tun tongue, tup (ME. tuppe) *a ram*, tusk tusk, tſuf proud, haughty, ug to carry, ugli ugly, ugn (see Notes and Queries i. 10. 400, Nov. 18, 1854) hip, ulz (ME. huls) bean-swads, unded hundred, unde(r) under, uni honey, unt to hunt, ure(r) hunger, þunе(r) thunder, wud wood, wulzi wollen, wun (pp.) wound, wun (pp.) won, wund wound, wunde(r) wonder.

§ 112. u has become ū in: būk, būkp (ME. bulke, O.Icel. bulki) *bulk*, size, e-būn (OE. on-bufan) *above*, mūfin *muffin*, pūl to *pull*, šuldē(r) (this word has been influenced by the literary language. Most old people still say šuðe(r)) *shoulder*, wūl *wool* (but wulzi *wollen*).

§ 113. u before a following r.

(1) ē: dēst durst, kēs to curse, skēf scurf, snēt (ME. snurtin, cp. Low Germ. snurten to *snort*, *snore*) to *sneeze*, giggle, tēn to turn, tēf turf.

(2) e: bērē *borough*, eri *row*, *disturbance*, noise, fērē *furrow*.

(3) ue: due(r) *door*, muēn to *mourn*. It is highly probable, however, that muēn has nothing to do with OE. murnan, but is simply muēn to *moan* (§ 122).

§ 114. Medial ug has become ā: fāl (OE. fugol) *fowl*, kāl (OE. cugle) *cowl*, sā (OE. sugu) *sow*.

§ 115. u underwent early lengthening, and then had the same further development as old ū (§ 171) in: ānd *hound*, bāns (ME. bunsen) *to bounce*, drānd (OE. drunenian) *to drown*.

§ 116. u has become iu in: þriu (þrīft) *through*, from, on account of.

y.

§ 117. y (=the i-umlaut of u) has generally become i : *bizi* *busy*, *brig* *bridge*, *brim* *brim*, *brimstn* *brimstone*, *did* *did*, *didl* (cp. OE. *dyderian*) *to cheat*, *din* *din*, *dip* *to dip*, *dizi* *dizzy*, *fil* *to fill*, *flig* (ME. *fligge*, cp. OHG. *flukke* *able to fly*) *to fledge*, *flit* *to remove*, *kiln* *kiln*, *ekin* *akin*, *kinl* *to bring forth (of rabbits)*, *kinlin* *firewood*, *kip* *king*, *kripl* *cripple*, *kitšn* *kitchen*, *ig* (OE. *hyge* *mind*) *mood, temper*, *il* *hill*, *inš* *inch*, *ip* *hip*, *ipin* *a cloth placed round the hips of children*, *lift* *to lift*, *lin* (O.Icel. *lyng*) *heather*, *lisn* *to listen*, *mig* *midge*, *miln* *mill*, *nit* *to knit*, *pile* *pillow*, *pit* *pit*, *rig* (OE. *hryeg*) *back*, *rigin* *ridge of a house*, *sil* *sill*, *sin* *sin*, *kā-slip* *cowslip*, *snift* *to sniff*, *scent*, *stint* *to stint*, *tlik* (OE. *clycc(e)an*, see N.E.D. sub *clitch*) *to seize, snatch, catch hold*, *tlip* *to clip*, *trim* *to trim*, *þin* *thin*.

§ 118. yht has become īt : *flit* *flight*, *frit* *fright*, *rít* *wright*.

§ 119. y has become ī before ld : *bild* *to build*, *gild* *to gild*.

§ 120. y before a following r.

(1) ē : *bēdn* *burden*, *bēl* *āt* (OE. *byrlian*) *to draw or pour out (drink to or for anyone)*, *bēþ* *birth*, *ēdl* *hurdle*, *fēst* *first*, *gēdl* *girdle*, *kēnl* *kernel*, *mēþe(r)* *to murder*, *mēki* *mirky*, *šēt* *shirt*, *tēd* (cp. OE. *tyrdel*, *Stratmann*) *turd*, *wēk* *to work*, *wēm* *worm*.

(2) e : *bēri* *to bury*, *mēri* *merry*, *spēriz* (cp. OE. *spyrian*) *banns of marriage*, *stē(r)* *to stir*, *wēri* *to worry*, *fig-wēt* *figwort*.

§ 121. y has become u in : *bluš* *to blush*, *bruslz* *bristles*, *bunl* *bundle*, *krutš* *crutch*, *muk* *muck*, *stubl* *stubble*, *šut* *to shut*, *šutl* *shuttle*, *trunl* *trundle*.

2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 122. The normal development of OE. ā in the W. dialect is ue :

bruēd broad, buēn bone, buē(r) boar, buet boat, buēþ both, druēn drone, druev (noun) drove, duē doe, duef dough, duefl cowardly, duel dole, fuēm foam, guēd goad, gruen to groan, grueþ to grope, gruev grove, gue to go, e-gue ago, guen gone, gue(r) gore, guest ghost, guet goat, kruek to croak, luēd load, burden, luēf loaf, luēn loan, eluēn alone, luēnsm lonely, luēþ loath, luēð to loathe, muēn (OE. mānan, ME. mānen, mānen) to moan, muē(r) more, muest most, nuē no, nuēn none, rued road, ruēp rope, rue(r) to roar, struek to stroke, struek (OE. strāc) half a bushel, stuēn stone, sue so, suep soap, sue(r) sore, tluēþ cloth, tluēz clothes, tluēð to clothe, tluēve(r) clover, tue toe, tuēd toad, tuekr token, tuēn (lit. the one) one of two, ue who, uek oak, ueli holy, uel whole, uem home, uenli lonely, ue(r) oar, ue(r) hoar, ues(t) (OE. hās) hoarse, uets oats, ueþ oath, wue woe.

§ 123. āw has become oe :

bloē to blow, kroē crow, kroē to crow, moē to mow, noe to know, sloē slow, snoē snow, soē to sow, poē to thaw, proē to throw, oeðe(r) either, noeðe(r) neither.

But we have ou in : out (OE. āwiht) aught, nout (OE. nāwiht) naught, soul (OE. sāwol) soul.

§ 124. ā has become ou in :

lou (O.Icel. lāgr) low, ou (OE. āgan) to owe, out (OE. āhte) ought ; but oe in : oen (OE. āgen) own.

§ 125. ā was shortened to a at an early period in : as, aks (OE. āscian, ācsian) to ask, alide (OE. hālig-dæg)

holiday, lavrek (OE. *lāwerce*, ME. *laveroc*) *lark, spatl* (OE. *spātl*) *spittle*. To e in *mēš mash*, cp. § 59.

And to o in *sori* (OE. *sārig*) *sorry*. But this word has probably been influenced by *sore* (OE. *sorg*) *sorrow*.

§ 126. ā has become u in ut *hot*, *wun one*, *wuns once*.

§ 127. O.Norse *ei* (=OE. ā) has become ee: *feek* (O.Icel. *feikr*) *trick, deception, leek* (O.Icel. *leika*) *to play, weak* (O.Icel. *veikr*) *weak*. It is not absolutely necessary to assume that these words are of Norse origin; they may be regularly developed from OE. *fācen*, *lācan*, *wāc* with early shortening of the ā before the following k, cp. words like *leitš leech* (§ 132), *teitš teach* (§ 138), which cannot be of Norse origin.

§ 128. ā has become e in the unaccented particles: en *an*, e *a, an*, e(r) *or*, ne(r) *nor*, net *not*.

§ 129. The following words remain unclassed: *poul pole*, probably an early borrowing from the lit. language; the same is probably the case with *rees race*, *swip to sweep* (OE. *swāpan*, pret. *swēop*) with the vowel of the pret. transferred to the present, *tū two*.

Germanic ē.

§ 130. Germanic ē (=WS. ē, O.North. ē) has become i in: *grīdi greedy, īmin evening, nīdl needle, rīd to read, sīd seed, slīp to sleep, strīt street, śīp sheep, tśīz cheese, þrīd thread*.

§ 131. It has become ie in:

brieþ breath, brieð to breathe, dried to dread, fie(r) fear, e-fled afraid, iel eel, iernd errand, jie(r) year, miel meal, repast, swiel (OE. swēlan, O.Icel. svēla) to gutter (of a candle), ȳie(r) there, wiəpm weapon, wiə(r) where, wiez to wheeze.

§ 132. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87): *leitš leech, speitš speech.*

§ 133. It has become eə in : *bleet to bleat, gree gray, ee(r) hair, weev wave.*

§ 134. It underwent early shortenings to e in : *bleðe(r) bladder, let to let, mede meadow, red (OE. rēdde) read, sed (OE. sēde, older sēgde, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 214, 3) said, setede (OE. sēterdæg) Saturday, slept slept, sez sayest, says, šeped shepherd, šepste(r) starling, wet wet.*

§ 135. It has become a in : *blast blast.*

§ 136. It has become i in : *ridl riddle, sili silly.*

OE. ē (= i-umlaut of ā).

§ 137. The normal development of the i-umlaut of ā is ie :

briedþ breadth, diel deal, dliem gleam, iel to heal, ielp health, iet heat, ieðn heathen, lied to lead, liede(r) tendon,lien lean, liest least, liev to leave, miēn mean, miēn to mean, intend, riē(r) to rear, riēþ wreath, sie sea, siet seat, swiet to sweat, ſieþ sheath, tiez to tease, tlien c!ean, wiet wheat.

§ 138. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87), cp. also § 132 : *bleitš to bleach, reik to reach, teitš to teach.*

§ 139. ē has also become ei in :

- (1) *lein to lean, spreid to spread.*
- (2) *kei key, nei neigh.*

140. ēht has become out : *tout (OE. tāhte) taught.*

§ 141. ā has become ee in : *leedi lady, steez stairs, tlee clay.*

§ 142. It has become oe in : *noeðe(r) neither, oeðe(r) either.* These examples rather belong to § 123. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 346, 348.

§ 143. It underwent early shortening to e in : *emti empty, fleš flesh, left (pret. and pp.) left, lent (pret. and pp.) lent (len to lend has its vowel from the pret.) les less, ment meant.*

§ 144. It was shortened at an early period to a in : *bad bad, fat fat, laðe(r) ladder, mad mad, madlin a bewildered or confused person, stupid fellow, rasl to wrestle, spat (pret.) spat.*

§ 145. It has become i in *ive(r) ever, ivri every, nive(r) never.*

§ 146. oni (OE. ēnig) has been influenced by moni (OE. manig) *many.*

ē.

i. ē (=i-umlaut of ö).

§ 147. ē, the i-umlaut of ö, has become i : *blid to bleed, brīd to breed, dīm to deem, fīd to feed, fil to feel, fīt feet, gīs geese, grīn green, grit to greet, id heed, il heel, kil (OE. cēlan) to cool, kin keen, kip to keep, kwīn queen, mīt to meet, sīk to seek, sīm to seem, slī sly, swīt sweet, tīm (O. Icel. tēma) to pour out, tīp teeth, wīp to weep.*

§ 148. It was shortened early to e before consonant combinations in : *bled bled, bles to bless, bred bred, gezlin gosling, fed fed, felt (pret.) felt, kept kept, met met, tem (pret. of tīm § 147) poured out, tem-ful brimful.*

§ 149. The following forms are irregular : *britšež (OE.*

brēc) *breeches*, **weest** (OE. *wēste*) *waste*, **wieri** (OE. *wērig*) *weary*.

2. ē (=older īe, partly arising from the i-umlaut of ēa, ēo, and partly arising from ethlipsis).

§ 150. This ē has also generally become ī: **dī** *to dye*, **drī** *dreary*, **lītnin** *lightning*, **be-līv** *to believe*, **nīd** *need*, **sīn** *seen*, **slīv** *sleeve*, **stīl** *steel*, **stīpl** *steeple*, **śīt** *sheet*, **tī** *to tie*, **siks-tīn** *sixteen*.

NOTE.—This ē has been shortened to i in: **rik** *reek*, *smoke*, *strip to strip*.

§ 151. It has become īe before a following r in: **iēd** *heard*, **iē(r)** *to hear*, **niē(r)** (OHG. *nioro*) *kidney*, **stie(r)** *to steer*.

§ 152. ē has been shortened to e at an early period in: **nekst** *next*.

§ 153. It has become ee in: **ee** *hay*; and ei in: **eit** *height*.

3. Germanic ē.

§ 154. **let** (pret.) *let*, **iē(r)** *here*. Here may also be placed: **mīdles** (cp. OE. *mēd*, older *meord* *pay, reward*) *troublesome, tiresome, to no purpose*.

4. The OE. ē which arose from lengthening in monosyllables (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 121).

§ 155. This ē has become ī in the following accented forms (§ 350): **ī he**, **jī ye**, **mī me**, **ðī thee**, **wī we**.

ī.

§ 156. OE. ī has regularly become ai: **aidl** *idle*, **aim** (OE. *hrīm*?) *hoarfrost*, **ain** *hind*, **ais** *ice*, **aivi** *ivy*, **baid** (OE. *bīdan*) *to endure, put up with, wait, stay, remain, bait to*

bite, **braidl** bridle, **daik** *dike*, **dyke**, **dlaid** to glide, **draiv** to drive, **fail** *file*, **faiv** five, **graip** to gripe, **graim** (ME. *grīm*) soot (*on the kettle*), **kraist** Christ, **laif** life, **laik** like, **laim** lime, **lain** line, **e-laiv** alive, **mai** (accented form) my, **mail** mile, **main** mine, **mait** mite, **naif** knife, **paik** pike, **pail** pile, **pain** to pine, **paip** pipe, **raid** to ride, **raip** ripe, **rait** to write, **raiv** (O. Icel. *rīfa* to break) to tear, **raiz** to rise, **said** side, **sail** (ME. *sīlen*) to strain through a sieve, **saip** (cp. MHG. *sīfen*) to ooze or drain out slowly, **saið** scythe, **slaid** to slide, **slaim** slime, **slaip** to take away the skin or outside covering, **smait** to smite, **snaip** snipe, **strайд** to stride, **straik** to strike, **swaim** to climb up a tree or pole, **swaip** (cp. MHG. *swīfen*) to sweep off, remove hastily, **šain** to shine, **šait** cacare, **šaiv** (ME. *schīve*) slice, **taid** feast time, **taidin** a present from the feast, **taik** (O. Icel. *tīk* dog) a low fellow, **taim** time, **tait** (in the phrase: *es tait as soon*, comp. *taite(r)* sooner, rather, ME. *tīt*, O. Icel. masc. *tīðr*, neut. *tītt*) soon, **twain** twine, **twais** twice, **þai** (accented form) thy, **þain** thine, **þraiv** to thrive, **wайд** wide, **waif** wife, **wail** a while, time, **wain** wine, **waip** to wipe, **wait** white, **waiz** wise, **fraide** Friday.

§ 157. i before a following r: **aien** iron, **spaie(r)** spire, **waie(r)** wire.

§ 158. Old i appears as ī in: **sī** to sigh (§ 318, b), **skrīk** (O. Low Germ. *scrīcōn*, Swed. *skrīka*) to shriek. And possibly in **stī** (OE. *stīg*, OHG. *stīga*) ladder, but see § 94.

§ 159. īw has become iu: **spiu** (OE. *spīwan*) to spew, **tiuzdē** (OE. *tīwesdæg*) Tuesday.

§ 160. ī underwent early shortening to i in: **bi** (unaccented form) by, **dwinl** to dwindle, **fift** fifth, **fifti** fifty, **fipms** fivepence, **linin** linen, **linsīd** linseed, **stif** stiff, **wimin** women, **midif** midwife, **wizdm** wisdom.

§ 161. *rī* has become *ē* through metathesis in : *kēsmes* *Christmas*, *kēsn* *to christen*.

§ 162. *ī* has become *u* in : *wumn woman*; *ie* in : *sniēk* *to sneak*; *e* in : *stērēp* *stirrup*.

ō.

§ 163. The normal development of *ō* is *ui* : *bluid blood*, *bruid brood*, *buin boon*, *buit to boot*, *buið booth*, *buizm bosom*, *duin done*, *fluid flood*, *fuid food*, *fuit foot*, *guid good*, *guis goose*, *kruidl* *to shrink or cower with cold, fear or pain*, *kuil cool*, *muid mood*, *muild confusion, bad temper*, *muin moon*, *nuin noon*, *pruiv* (OE. *prōfian* from Lat. *probāre*) *to prove*, *ruid rood*, *ruif roof*, *ruit root*, *skuil school*, *smuið smooth*, *spuin spoon*, *stuid stood*, *stuil stool*, *suin soon*, *suit soot*, *tuil tool*, *tuip tooth*, *šuin shoes*, *uid hood*, *uif hoof*, *uin* (ME. *hōnen*) *to harass, treat badly*.

§ 164. *ō* has become *iu* before *k*, *m*, and when the vowel has come to stand finally in the mod. dialect.

(a) Before *k* : *briuk* *brook*, *iuk* *hook*, *kriuk* *crook*, *liuk* *to look*, *niuk* *nook*, *riuk* *rook*, *šiuk* *shook*, *tiuk* *took*.

būk book, and *kūk cook* have been borrowed from the literary language.

(b) Before *m* : *blium bloom*, *brium broom*, *dlium gloom*, *dium doom*, *gium gum*, *lium loom*.

(c) When final in the mod. dialect : *biu bough*, *diu to do*, *driu drew*, *iniu* (plural) *enough*, *pliu plough*, *sliu slew*, *tiu too*.

šū shoe has been borrowed from the literary language, cp. the pl. form *šuin* § 163. *ō* appears as *i* in *inif* (sing.) *enough*.

§ 165. ō has become uə before r: dluə(r) (ME. glōren) *to stare*, flue(r) *floor*, muə(r) *moor*.

§ 166. ōw has become ou: dlou *to glow*, flou *to flow*, grou *to grow*, stou *to stow*.

§ 167. ōht became oht already in OE. (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 125), and has become out in the W. dialect, cp. § 101: brout *brought*, sout *sought*, þout *thought*.

§ 168. ō has become ou in: skoup *scoop*.

§ 169. Shortenings of old ō.

- (a) To o: blōsm *blossom*, fōstə(r) *foster*, foðə(r) *fodder*, kom (OE. cōm) *came*, soft *soft*, shod *shod*, tof *tough*.
- (b) To u: bruðə(r) *brother*, dluv *glove*, duz *dost*, does, mundē *Monday*, munþ *month*, muðə(r) *mother*, sluf (OE. slōg) *slough*, tuðə(r) *the other*, uðə(r) *other*.

§ 170. ō has become e in wednzdē (OE. wōdnes-dæg) *Wednesday*.

ū.

§ 171. ū has generally become ā: ā *how*, āl *owl*, āmivē(r) *however*, ās *house*, āt *out*, bā *to bow*, bān (O. Icel. būenn, lit. bound; generally used in the sense of *going*, as wiə(r) te bān? *where art thou going?* am bān dān tloin *I am going down the lane*), brā *brow*, brān *brown*, bāt (OE. būtan, be-ūtan) *without*, e-bāt *about*, dān *down*, dāst *dust*, dlāmi (not the same word as *gloomy* which is dliumi § 164) *sad*, downcast, drāzi *drowsy*, fāl *foul*, ugly, kā *cow*, krād *crowd*, lād *loud*, lās *louse*, mās *mouse*, māþ *mouth*, nā *now*, rām *room*, rāst *rust*, prād *proud*, sāk *to suck*, sāþ *south*, slām (OE. slūma) *slumber*, sprāt (cp. ME. sprūte, M. Low Germ. sprūte) *to sprout*, šrād *shroud*, tān *town*,

tlād *cloud*, tlāt *clout*, trāst (ME. trūsten) *to trust*, ðā (accented form) *thou*, þāzn *thousand*.

§ 172. ū has become āe before a following r: āe(r) (accented form) *our*, kāe(r) dān (ME. couren, Swed. kūra *to cover*) *to bend down, sit down*, sāe(r) sour, šāe(r) shower.

But we have ē in þēzðē *Thursday*.

§ 173. doēn *down, feathers*, seems to have been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 174. ū was shortened to u at an early period in: busk (ME. busken from O. Icel. būask *to get oneself ready*) *to go about from place to place singing and playing for money*, druft *drought*, duv *dove*, fus *fuss*, kud (accented form) *could*, plum *plum*, ruf *rough*, uni-sukl *honeysuckle*, sup *to drink*, sup, šuv *to shove*, þum *thumb*, ulet *owl*, up *up*, uðe(r) *udder*, uz (accented form) us, uzbn *husband*.

It has been weakened to e in the unaccented particle bed but.

ȳ.

§ 175. ȳ, the i-umlaut of ū, has become ai: aid *hide, skin*, aiv *hive*, braid *bride*, brain *brine*, draip *dry*, draip *to drip*, daiv *to dive*, kait *kite*, lais *lice*, mais *mice*, praid *pride*, skai *sky*.

§ 176. It has become aie before a following r: aie(r) *to hire*, faie(r) *fire*, maie(r) *mire*.

§ 177. It underwent early shortening to i in: filþ *filth*, idn (pp. from which was formed a new present id *to hide*), litl *little*, lits (retained only in the game of lits en gēts lit. *littles and greats*, a game played by boys with brass buttons, clog clasps, or small pieces of brass of any kind. Two lits

have the value of one **gēt**; cp. P. B. Beitr. ix. p. 365-7). **þiml** *thimble*, **wiš** *to wish*.

§ 178. **ȳ** (?) has become **u** in **þrust** *to thrust*.

3. The Diphthongs.

ēa.

§ 179. OE. **ēa** has generally become **iə:** **biem** *beam*, **bien** *bean*, **biet** *to beat*, **bried** *bread*, **died** *dead*, **dief** *deaf*, **dieþ** *death*, **driem** *dream*, **e-gien** *again*, *against*, **ięd** *head*, **ięp** *heap*, **ie(r)** *ear*, **ięst** *east*, **ięste(r)** *Easter*, **lięd** *lead*, **lief** *leaf*, **be-lief** *belief*, **nię(r)** *near*, **pie-kok** *peacock*, **siem** *seam*, **stiem** *steam*, **stiep** *steep*, **strię** (WS. **strēa**, O. North. **strē**, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 250, note 2) *straw*, **striem** *stream*, **šief** *sheaf*, **tiem** *team*, **tšiep** *cheap*, **þrięp** (OE. **þrēapian** *to rebuke*) *to contradict*, **þriętn** *to threaten*.

§ 180. **ēaw** has become **eu:** **deu** *dew*, **eu** *to hew*, **feu** (OE. **fēawe**) *few*, **šeu** *to show*, **teu** (OE. **tēawian**) *to work zealously*.

But we have **oe** in **roe** (OE. **hrēaw**) *raw*; which presupposes a form **hrāw** (§ 123).

§ 181. It has become **i** in: **i** (plural **in**) *eye*, **tšik** *cheek*. The latter word has probably been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 182. It has become **ei** in: **ei** (OE. **hēah**) *high*, **nei** (OE. **nēah**) *nigh*, *near*. The ME. forms **heh** and **neh** would regularly become diphthongized to **ei**, see § 87.

§ 183. It has become **ee** in: **flee** (OE. **flēan**, Skeat, Etym. Dict. p. 211) *to skin*, **neebe(r)** *neighbour*.

§ 184. O. Norse *au* has become *ou* in : *loup* (O. Icel. *hlaupa*) *to leap, jump, lous* (O. Icel. *lauss*) *loose*; and *œ* in : *goem* (O. Icel. *gaum*) *heed, care, attention, goemles silly, stupid, roet* (O. Icel. *rauta* *to roar*) *to bray*.

§ 185. *ēa* has become *ē* through absorption of *r* in : *gēt great*.

§ 186. Shortenings of *ēa* :

- (a) To *e* in : *efē(r) heifer, lek leek, red red.*
- (b) To *a* in : *laðē(r) lather, tšap chap.*

ēo.

§ 187. OE. *ēo* has generally become *i*: *bī bee, bī* (accented form) *to be, bin been, dīp deep, dli glee, fīnd fiend, flī to fly, flī fly, flīs fleece, frī free, frīz to freeze, krīp to creep, lī to lie, līf (OE. lēof) soon, līvē(r) sooner, rather, līt a light, nī knee, nīz (O. Icel. hniōsa) to sneeze, rīd reed, rīl reel, prīst priest, sī to see, sīð to seethe, snīz to sneeze, tlīv to cleave, trī tree, bē-twīn between, þī thigh, þīf thief, þrī three, wīd weed, wīl wheel.*

But we have *tšiuz* to choose (§ 366).

§ 188. It has become *ie* before a following *r*: *bie(r) beer, diə(r) dear, driəri dreary.*

§ 189. Before *r + consonant* it became shortened to *e* already in ME., and then had the same further development as old *e* before *r + consonant* (§ 87): *dālin* (OE. *dēorling*, ME. *derring*) *darling, fādin* (OE. *fēorðung*, ME. *ferthing*) *farthing.*

§ 190. *ēow* has become *iu*: *bliu blew, briu to brew, griu grew, jiuþ youth, kriu crew, niu new, niu knew, riu to*

rue, sniu (§ 377) *it snowed, tliu clew, triu true, triup truth,*
siu sowed, þriu threw.

But in the following words we have *eu* which points to an old ēaw (§ 180): *eu yew, seu to sew, tſeu to chew.* We have *oue* in: *foue(r)* (OE. *fēower*, but ME. *fōwer*, which would regularly become *foue(r)* in the dialect, § 166) *four, fouet* (OE. *fēowerða*) *fourth, fouetin* (OE. *fēowertēne*) *fourteen.* And *āe* in: *jāe(r)* (accented form) *your.* This last word has been influenced by *āe(r)* *our*, § 172.

§ 191. The following two words remain unclassed: *šū* (accented form) *she, šuit to shoot.*

§ 192. Early shortenings of ēo:

- (a) To *e* in: *brest breast, fel* (pret.) *fell, frend friend, step-faðe(r)* *step-father.* Anglian *ēo* (=WS. *ie*) has been shortened to *e* in: *depþ depth, ten ten.*
- (b) To *o* in: *foti forty, fotnit fortnight.*
- (c) To *i* in: *divl devil, sik sick, e tūþri* lit. *a two (or) three, a few.*
- (d) To *e* in: *se ðe* lit. *see thou, look ! þrepms threepence.*

Elision of *e.*

§ 193. The *e* is elided in the diphthongs and triphthongs *ee, ie, oe, ue, āe, aiē, iue, oue*, when they occur finally and the next word begins with a vowel; thus *gue* but *gu uem go home, me ai may I*, but *mee wi* (§ 393), *noe* but *a no im I know him*, and similarly for the others.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH ELEMENT.

In the following treatment of the French element in the W. dialect, the present pronunciation of literary English has, in most cases, been taken as the starting point. The transcription of the lit. English vowel sounds is based on that given in Sweet's Primer of Spoken English, pp. 7-8, and is as follows:—

o	as in just, dozen, double.
ā	„ grant, art, master.
ai	„ fine, pie, try.
au	„ doubt, powder.
æ	„ value, rat.
e	„ debt, measure.
ei	„ bacon, bailiff, pay.
ee	„ pair, chair.
ē	„ furnish, journey.
i	„ dinner, pity.
ij	„ beak, secret, beef, grief.
ie	„ fierce, clear.
o	„ jolly, profit.
oi	„ boil, poison.
ou	„ roast, notice.

ō „ pork, daub, false.
 u „ put, butcher.
 uw „ fruit, blue.
 ue „ sure, poor.

§ 194. Lit. Engl. *æ* (written *a*) appears as *a* : *abit habit*, *aktli actually*, *ali aisle, alley*, *arend* (ME. *araine*, O. Fr. *araigne*) *spider*, *avek havoc*, *baril barrel*, *damidž damage*, *faks facts*, *galek* (O. Fr. *galc*) *lefthand*, *galep to gallop*, *galn gallon*, *garit garret*, *gran-faðe(r)*, *gram-faðe(r)* *grandfather*, *kap cap*, *kapil* (Fr. *capel* a little hat, Cotgr.) *a piece of leather sewn over a hole in a boot or shoe*, *karit carrot*, *lamp lamp*, *mane(r) manner*, *map* (see Skeat, Etym. Dict. *sub mop*) *a mop*, *mare to match a pattern*, *natrel* (*natre-b1*) *natural*, *pantri pantry*, *ratn* (O. Fr. *raton*) *rat*, *salit salad*, *skafi scaffold*, *skafin scaffolding*, *stati statue*, *tali to agree, be right*, *tē liv tali to live together without being married*, *tšapil chapel*, *vali valley*, *vale value*.

§ 195. Lit. Engl. has *ā* where the W. dial. has *a* in : *basted* *bastard*, *branš branch*, *grant to grant*, *pastē(r)* *pasture*, *plant plant*.

But *ee* in : *beəs bass*, *leerəm alarum*, *meestē(r) master*, *pleestē(r) plaster*.

§ 196. Lit. Engl. has *ei* (written *a*), but W. dial. *a* in : *aprən apron*, *stapl staple*.

But we have *moendž mange*.

§ 197. *a* has become *e* before *a* following *g*, *n*, *š*, *cp.*
 § 59 :

dregn dragon.

blenk blank, *blenkit blanket*, *kerke(r)* (ME. *cancren*) *to corrode*, *lenwidž language*, *plenk plank*, *renk rank*.

beſfl bashful, *feſn fashion*, *peſn passion*, *seſ sash*.

§ 198. al has become oe in the combinations lk, lm, ll, cp. § 62.

goeki (but galēk § 326) *left handed*, boem *balm*, oeminak *almanac*, oemend *almond*, boel *ball*.

§ 199. al in the combination ld has become ou, cp. § 64: skoud *to scald*.

The same sound also occurs in fout (ME. faute) *fault*.

§ 200. a has become o before a following n in: dōns *dance*, ont *aunt*, trons *trance*, tšons *chance*, tšont *chant*.

§ 201. a has become e in: rediš *radish*.

§ 202. a has been retained where in the lit. language it has become o through the influence of the preceding w in: kwalēti *quality*, kwari *stone-quarry*, warənd *to warrant*, walep (cp. Fr. galoper *to curry, use rudely*, Cotgr.) *to beat, flog*.

§ 203. ar in the combination r + consonant has become ee, which shows that ar in this combination was pronounced differently in Engl. and Fr. words in the ME. period; cp. § 61.

beebe(r) *barber*, beedž *barge*, beegrn *bargain*, beete(r) *to barter*, deet *to dart*, eet *art, skill*, geed *guard*, geedn *garden*, geete(r) *garter*, keed *card*, keekes (Fr. carquasse, Cotgr.) *body, carcass*, kweet *quart*, kweete(r) *quarter*, peedn *pardon*, peesl *parcel*, peet *part*, peetne(r) *partner*, skeelet *scarlet*, tseedž *charge*.

§ 204. Lit. Engl. ei (written a, ai (ay), ei) appears in the W. dial. as ee: beekn̩ *bacon*, beel *bale*, beeli (bum-beeli, cp. O. Fr. baili) *bailiff*, beet *to abate*, bleem *blame*, bree (ME. braein, O. Fr. breier) *to beat, pound*, deendže(r) *danger*, deenti *dainty*, deet *date*, deevi *affidavit*, eebli *able*, eedž *age*, eem *to aim, intend*, eonšn *ancient*, feed *fade, feel*

*to fail, feent to faint, fees face, feep faith, feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, fleem flame, gee gay, ingeodž to engage, greenz (pl.) malt which has been used in brewing beer, greeš grace, greet grate, keedž cage, kees case, lees lace, meesn mason, neetē(r) nature, pee pay, peedž page, peel pale, peen pain, peen pane of glass, peent paint, pees pace, peest (but pasti *pasty*) paste, pleen plain, plees place, pleet plate, pree (but pre-ðe (I) pray thee) to pray, preet to prate, babble, preez to praise, reedž rage, reet rate, seef safe, seekrid sacred, seem (often called swain-seem, Ancren Riwle seim, OE. seime *adipe*, Ps. lxii. 6, E. E. T. S. No. 92, from O. Fr. sain) lard, seent (but before names sant) saint, seev to save, skeelz scales, steebl stable, streendž strange, teebl table, teele(r), teelje(r) tailor, teest taste, tleem to claim, treel (Fr. trailler) to drag, treen train, tšeef to chafe, tšeeme(r) chamber, tšeendž change, veen vein, weet to wait.*

NOTE.—*contrary* is kontréeri.

§ 205. Before a simple r we have the same development as the lit. language: pœ(r) pair, pœ(r) to peel, tšeœ(r) chair.

e.

§ 206. e (written e, ea) in the lit. language has generally remained in the W. dialect: bezl to embezzle, demek (from epidemic) potato disease, demekt diseased (of potatoes), det debt, dželes jealous, dželi jelly, e-sem̄l to assemble, fend to provide for oneself, fent remnant of a piece of cloth, fezn pheasant, ges to guess, lete(r) letter, letis lettuce, mel (Fr. mail) mallet, mel (ME. mellen, medlen, O.Fr. medler) to meddle, mend to mend, meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, prentis apprentice, sens sense, ses assessment, tax, spekteklz

spectacles, *treml* to tremble, *treze(r)* treasure, *vente(r)* to venture, *vesl* vessel.

But *fliem* phlegm, *siene* senna.

§ 207. *er* has become ā before a following consonant: *konsán* concern, *pāsn* parson, *sādžn* sergeant, *sāmen* sermon, *sāvnt* servant, *sāvis* service, *tlāk* clerk, *vāment* vermin, *vāniš* varnish.

In the following two words we have a: *arend* (O.Fr. *errant*) notoriously bad, *sare* (rarely *sāv*) to serve. On *sare* see Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England, p. 91. iə in: *ieb* herb, and e in: *tšeri* cherry.

§ 208. e has become a before a following r in *tarie(r)* (ME. *terrere*) terrier dog, *vari* very.

But *pie(r)* pear.

§ 209. e has become i before a following nasal in: *indžói* to enjoy, *indžn* engine, *ingeedž* to engage, *ink* ink, *lints* lentils, *simetri* cemetery, *šimi* chemise.

tribl treble (in music) from contamination with *triple*, and *þribl* threefold from contamination with *þrí*.

§ 210. e has become a in *saléri* celery, cp. *salary* sub celery in N.E.D.

i.

§ 211. i has generally remained in the W. dialect: *dine(r)* dinner, *dizml* dismal, *finiš* to finish, *gimlek* (this word has now almost gone out of use, its place being taken by *gimlit*) gimlet, *gizn* to choke, *gizn* (Fr. *guisern*, Cotgr. sub *gesier*) gizzard, *konsiðe(r)* to consider, limit limit, list list, list to enlist, *live(r)* to deliver, *ministe(r)* minister, *mins* mince, *mistšif* mischief, *pidžn* pigeon, *pik* pickaxe,

pinien *opinion*, *piti* *pity*, *rive(r)* *river*, *sinl* *single*, *sižez* *scissors*, *skripte(r)* *scripture*, *tift* (cp. ME. *tiffen* from O. Fr. *tiffer* to *adorn*) *condition*, *state*, *order*, *tšimli* *chimney*, *twilt* *quilt*.

§ 212. i has become e in : *lenit* *linnet*, *rebit* *rivet*, *redžeste(r)* *to register*, *rens* *to rinse*.

§ 213. i has become e in *sperit* *spirit*; and a in *krakit* *cricket (game)*.

O .

§ 214. Lit. Engl. short o = W. dial. o : *boni* *nice*, *pretty*, *džoli* *jolly*, *džosl* *to jostle*, *kolə(r)* *collar*, *kotn* *cotton*, *lodž* *to lodge*, *mot*, *moti* (French *motte*, Cotgr., edit. 1673) *a mark at quoits*, *obstakl* *obstacle*, *oke-daik* (Fr. *oker* Cotgr.) *small stream of iron-water*, *one(r)* *honour*, *rok* *rock*, *poridž* *porridge*, *posnit* (O. Fr. *poçonet*) *saucepan*, *pot* *pot*, *profit* *profit*, *sođe(r)* *solder*.

§ 215. o has become u in : *nuvl* *novel*, *nuvis* *novice*.

§ 216. Lit. Engl. oi = W. dial. oi : *boil* *to boil*, *džoi* *joy*, *džoint* *joint*, *e-noi* *to annoy*, *koit* *quoit*, *coit*, *loin* *loin*, *moist* *moist*, *moiste(r)* *moisture*, *noiz* *noise*, *oil* *oil*, *ointment* *ointment*, *oistə(r)* *oyster*, *point* *point*, *poizn* *poison*, *soil* *soil*, *ground*, *spoil* *to spoil*, *tšois* *choice*, *vois* *voice*, *voiđe(r)* *large clothes' basket*.

§ 217. Lit. Engl. ou (written oa) = W. dial. o in : *gol* (only used in the game of *lits en gěts* § 177, O. Fr. *gaul*) *goal*, *rost* *to roast*.

§ 218. Lit. Engl. ou (written, o, oo, oa) = W. dial. ue in : *bruetš* *brooch*, *kuetš* *coach*, *nuebl* *noble*, *nuetis* *notice*, *pueni* *pony*, *puest* *post*, *puezi* *nosegay*, *rueb* *robe*, *rueg* *rogue*, *tluek* *cloak*.

§ 219. Lit. Engl. **ou** (written **o, oa**)=W. dial. **oi** in : **broitš** *to broach*, **doit** *to dote*, **koit** *coat*, **loitš** *loach*, **tlois** *close, narrow*, **tloiz** *to close*, **toist** *to toast*.

§ 220. Lit. Engl. **ou** (written **o, oa, ou, ow**)=W. dial. **ou** in : **boul** *bowl*, **koul** (O. Fr. **coillir**) *to rake*; **moud** *mould, model*, **poutri** *poultry*, **pouts** *to poach*, **roul** *to roll*, **soudže(r)** *soldier*.

But we have **púltis** *poultice*.

NOTE.—The first element of the W. diphthong is not the **o** in **not**. See § 7.

§ 221. Lit. Engl. **uw** (written **oo**)=W. dial. **ui**: **buit** *boot*, **fuil** *fool*, **gruin** (ME. **groin**, O. Fr. **groing**) *snout of a pig*.

§ 222. Lit. Engl. **uə** (written **oor**)=W. dial. **ue**: **pue(r)** *poor*, **pueli** *poorly, ill*.

§ 223. Lit. Engl. long open **ō** sound (written **or** before a following consonant)=W. dial. **ue** in : **fuēdž** *forge*, **fues** *force*, **kuēd** *cord*, **puek** *pork*, **puešn** *portion*, **pueše(r)** *porter*.

But we have **foēfit** *to forfeit*, **foēm** *form*, **foētn** *fortune*, **koenē(r)** *corner*, **oeđe(r)** *order*.

§ 224. **ue** occurs before single **r** in **dlueri** *glory*, **stuéri** *story*. And **e** in **fērin** *foreign*.

§ 225. Lit. Engl. long open **ō** (written **au, aw**)=W. dial. **oe** in : **doeb** (ME. **daubin**, O. Fr. **dauber**) *to daub, smear*, **džoēm** (Fr. **jaumbe**, Cotgr.) *the side post of a door or chimney piece*, **džoēnes** *jaundice*, **froēd** *fraud*, **koēse** *cause-way*, **poe** *paw*, **poez** (O. Fr. **poulser**, **posser**) *to kick, soēs* *sauce*.

But we have short **o** in **be-kos**, **e-kos**, **kos** *because, fols false; in reference to a child, implying that it is shrewd and witty beyond its years*.

u.

§ 226. Lit. Engl. **v** (written **u**, **o**, **ou**)=W. dial. **u**: **bukit** *bucket*, **buldž** *to bulge*, **butn** *button*, **buzed** (O. Fr. *busart*) *butterfly*, **dlutn** *glutton*, **dubl** *double*, **duzn** *dozen*, **džudž** *judge*, **džust** *just*, **frunt** *front*, **gruml** *to grumble*, **gulit** *gullet*, *channel for water*, **gute(r)** *gutter*, **guzl** *to swallow greedily*, **krust** *crust*, **kruš** *to crush*, **kule(r)** *colour*, **kumfet** *comfort*, **kumpni** *company*, **kuntri** *country*, **kupl** *couple*, **kusted** *custard*, **kustm** *custom*, **kuve(r)** *to cover*, **kuzin**, **kuzn** *cousin*, **muni** (*a commoner word is bras*) *money*, **munril** *mongrel*, **musted** *mustard*, **mutn** *mutton*, **muzl** *muzzle*, **nume(r)** *number*, **plume(r)** *plumber*, **pulp** *pulp*, **rikuve(r)** *to recover*, **rubiš** *rubbish*, **sudn** *sudden*, **sufe(r)** *to suffer*, **sumen** *to summon*, **supe(r)** *supper*, **stuf** *stuff*, **trubl** *trouble*, **trunk** *trunk*, **tšuk** *to throw*, **pitch**, **tun** *tun*, **tutš** *to touch*, **uml** *humble*, **unien** *onion*, **unkl** *uncle*.

But we have **foisti fusty**.

§ 227. Lit. Engl. **u** (written **u**, and mostly occurring after labials)=W. dial. **u**: **bušl** *bushel*, **butše(r)** *butcher*, **bulit** *bullet*, **puli** *pulley*, **pulit** *pullet*, **puš** *to push*, **put** *to put*.

But we have **siuge(r)** *sugar*, see § 310, 1; **puilpit** *pulpit*.

§ 228. Lit. Engl. **ē** (written **ur**, **our** before a following consonant)=W. dial. **ē**, see § 113 a: **bēl** (ME. *burle*) *to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or cloth*, **distēb** *to disturb*, **džēni** *journey*, **fēniš** *to furnish*, **fēnite(r)** *furniture*, **kēn** *currant*, **nēs** *nurse*, **pēs** *purse*, **tēn** *to turn*, **tēnēp** *turnip*, **ēt** *to hurt*.

ai.

§ 229. Lit. Engl. ai (written i, ie, y)=W. dial. ai: *ed-vais advice*, *ed-vaiz to advise*, *e-plai to apply*, *fain fine*, *frai to fry*, *konträiv to contrive*, *krai cry*, *nais nice*, *pai pie*, *paint pint*, *prais price*, *praiz to lift with a lever*, *rais rice*, *sailm asylum*, *sain sign*, *saizəz assizes*, *straiv to strive*, *tais to entice*, *trai to try*, *traifl trifle*.

But *tšiene china ware*.

ai also occurs in: *džais* (O. Fr. *giste*) *joist*, *paik to pick, select*.

e-blidž (pp. *e-blitšt*) *to oblige*, and *leelék lilac*, still remain to be explained.

§ 230. Lit. Engl. aie=W. dial. aie: *dizaie(r) desire*, *kwaiet quiet*, *raiet riot*, *umpaie(r) umpire*, *vaielot violet*.

ij.

§ 231. Lit. Engl. ij (written ea, ei, e, ee, ie) appears in the W. dial. as ie in: *biék beak*, *biest beast*, but *bies cows*, *disiet deceit*, *disiev to deceive*, *fiebl feeble*, *fietfeat*, *flest feast*, *fletē(r) feature*, *gries grease*, *iège(r) eager*, *iegl eagle*, *iekwl equal*, *iez ease*, *nies niece*, *niet neat*, *tidy*, *piel to appeal*, *pies peace*, *plied to plead*, *pliez to please*, *riel real*, *riezn reason*, *risiet receipt*, *recipe*, *risiev to receive*, *siekrit secret*, *sies to cease*, *siezn season*, *tie tea*, *triet treat*, *trietyl treacle*, *tšiet to cheat*, *viel veal*.

§ 232. Lit. Engl. ij=W. dial. ī in: *bif beef*, *e-grī to agree*, *grif grief*, *pip (pp. pept) to peep*, *pīs piece*.

§ 233. Lit. Engl. ie=W. dial. ie in: *fles fierce*, *tlie(r) clear*.

§ 234. Lit. Engl. ij W. dial. ei in: *dein dean*, *preits to preach*.

ai in : *bastail* (Fr. *bastille*) *workhouse, union.*

ee in : *konseet* *conceit.*

i in : *pil* *to peel, pilinz* *the peels of potatoes, etc.*

e in : *mezlz* *measles.*

au.

§ 235. Lit. Engl. *au* (written *ou, ow*) appears in the W. dial as ā: āl *to howl*, āns *ounce*, bānti *bounty*, dāt *doubt*, e-kānt *account*, e-lā, lā *to allow*, e-mānt *amount*, frān *to frown*, gān *gown*, gāt *gout*, kānsl *to counsel*, kānt *to count*, kātš *couch*, krān *crown*, lāns *an allowance of refreshment or money*, mānt *to mount*, māt (Lat. *mūtāre*) *to moult*, pāðe(r) *powder*, rānd *round*, sānd *sound, noise*, stāt *stout*, tā-il (also *tail*) *towel*, trā-il *trowel*, trāns *to beat, flog*, vā *vow.*

au appears as ū in : trūzez *trousers.*

§ 236. Lit. Engl. *aue*=W. dial. āe: āe(r) *hour*, divāe(r) *to devour*, flāe(r) *flower, flour*, pāe(r) *power*, tāe(r) *tower.*

juw.

§ 237. Lit. Engl. *juw* (written *eau, ue, u, ui, ew, iew*) is ū in the W. dialect : biuti *beauty*, diu *due*, diuti *duty*, fluil *fuel*, flute(r) *future*, ius *use*, iuneti *unity*, iunien *union*, iusfi *useful*, iusles *useless*, iuz *to use*, miul *mule, donkey*, miuzik *music*, piu *pew*, pius *puce colour*, rifiu *to refuse*, siut *suit*, stiupid *stupid*, viu *view.*

But we have ā in : kākume(r) *cucumber.*

jue.

§ 238. Lit. Engl. *jue* (written *ure*)=W. dial. ūue : kiue(r) *cure*, mēniue(r) *manure*, piue(r) *pure.*

uw.

§ 239. Lit. Engl. uw (written ue, ui, u, and mostly occurring after l, r, s) is ſu in the W. dialect: bliu *blue*, bliuz (pl.) *delirium tremens*, fliu *flue*, flιut *flute*, ſeliut *to salute*.

friut *fruit*, griuil·gruel, rikriut *to recruit*, riubub *rhubarb*, riul *rule*, riume(r) *rumour*, riuin *ruin*.

ſiu *to sue*, ſiuit *suet*.

ue.

§ 240. Lit. Engl. ue=W. dial. iue: ſiue(r) *sure*, ſiuēli *surely*, unsiue(r) *uncertain*.

CHAPTER V.

VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

§ 241. Diphthongs and short and long vowels in unaccented syllables have regularly been weakened to *e*, *i*, or the vowel has disappeared altogether. In the latter case, when an *l*, *m*, *n* followed, it has become vocalic.

1. *e*.

§ 242. *a.* In initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

befue(r) before, *begin* to begin, and similarly in all other words containing this prefix ; *fegetn* (pp.) forgot, *ebāt* (also *bāt*) about, without, *ebūn* above, *efled* afraid, *efued* to afford, *efue(r)* before, *egeet* in action, at work, *egien* again, against, *egrī* to agree, *egue* ago, *ekin* akin, *ekos* (also *kos*) because, *elaiv* alive, *eluen* alone, *emēr* among, *enent* opposite, *enoi* to annoy, *eplai* to apply, *eseml* to assemble, *estied* instead, *ewee* away, *meniue(r)* manure, *seliut* salute, *te-moen* to-morrow.

But we have *edikéet* to educate, *ekuedinlái* accordingly, *kontréeri* contrary, *redžéstē(r)* to register, *siuelí* surely, *spektéklz* spectacles.

§ 243. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent :

basted *bastard*, baleks *testiculi*, bulek *bullock*, buzəd *butterfly*, dželes *jealous*, džoenes *jaundice*, figwet *figwort*, galep *to gallop*, gimlek *gimlet*, kēsmes *Christmas*, kolep *slice of bacon*, koese *causeway*, kubed *cupboard*, kusted *custard*, lavrek *lark*, leelek *lilac*, loped *clotted*, covered with dirt, mare *to match a pattern*, musted *mustard*, otšed *orchard*, omest *almost*, oles *always*, sakles *silly*, foolish, sare *to serve*, siene *senna*, simetri *cemetery*, sičez *scissors*, spitek *spigot*, šeped *shepherd*, sterep *stirrup*, tēnep *turnip*, ulet *owl*, unded *hundred*, vale *value*, windę *window*.

are *arrow*, bare *barrow*, bore *to borrow*, fale *fallow*, folę *to follow*, fere *furrow*, jare *yarrow*, jole *yellow*, mare *marrow*, mede *meadow*, nare *narrow*, ole *hollow*, pile *pillow*, sale *sallow*, sore *sorrow*, spare *sparrow*, swole *to swallow*, swole *swallow*, šade *shadow*, šale *shallow*, tale *tallow*, wide *widow*, wile *willow*.

ame(r) *hammer*, bleđe(r) *bladder*, bute(r) *butter*, fađe(r) *father*, gane(r) *gander*, geđe(r) *to gather*, kerke(r) *to rust*, corrode, neebę(r) *neighbour*, oeđe(r) *either*, pleeste(r) *plaster*, skute(r) *to spill*, slume(r) *slumber*, šuđe(r) *to shudder*, tarie(r) *terrier*, punę(r) *thunder*, unsiuę(r) *uncertain*, unę(r) *hunger*, wote(r) *water*.

fénite(r) *furniture*, flute(r) *future*, moiste(r) *moisture*, neete(r) *nature*, paste(r) *pasture*, pikte(r) *picture*.

meze(r) *measure*, pleze(r) *pleasure*, treze(r) *treasure*.

But we have óeminak *almanac*, bástail *union*, work-house, óbstakl *obstacle*, ríubub *rhubarb*.

In compounds, some of which have been given above : beekeš *bakehouse*, koiles *coalhouse*, wākes *union*, work-house, wěšes *washhouse*, alide *holiday*, jestede *yesterday*, wāte (lit. work-day) *week-day*, sundę *Sunday*, and similarly

for the other days of the week, *nek-leþ* neck cloth, *hand-kerchief*, *baked* backward, *foreð* forward, *tādz* towards, *forediš* rather forward, *oeked* awkward, *œpeþ* halfpenny worth, *peneþ* pennyworth, *sumet* something, anything.

2. i.

§ 244. a. In initial syllables followed by the principal accent :

indžoi to enjoy, *iŋgeedž* to engage, *disiet* deceit, *disiev* to deceive, *ministe(r)* minister.

§ 245. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent :

āvis(t) harvest, *blenkit* blanket, *bulit* bullet, *damidž* damage, *ienis(t)* earnest, *inif* (sing.) enough, pl. *iniu*, *ferin* foreign, *fotnit* fortnight, *gulit* water channel, *karit* carrot, *lenit* linnet, *letis* lettuce, *olin* holly, *posnit* saucepan, *puil-pit* pulpit, *pūltis* poultice, *salit* salad, *sperit* spirit, *rebit* rivet, *rediš* radish.

bāli barley, *beeli* bailiff, *beli* belly, *beri* berry, *beri* to bury, *bodi* body, but *nuebdi* nobody, *boni* nice, pretty, *dizi* dizzy, *emti* empty, *evi* heavy, *eri* hurry, row, disturbance, *kani* knowing, intelligent, skilful, nimble, *leedi* lady, *méri* merry, *moni* many, *nevi* nephew, *œpni* halfpenny, but *œpeþ* halfpenny worth, *oni* any, *peni* penny, but *peneþ* pennyworth, *popi* poppy, *pratli* gently, softly, *rudi* ruddy, *sili* silly, *slipi* slippery, *sori* sorry, *snikit* a small passage, *stati* statue, *šabi* shabby, *šimi* chemise, *tali* to agree, *þēti* thirty, *ueli* holy, *uenli* lonely, *vali* valley, *vari* very, *wéri* to worry.

fādin farthing, *gezlin* gosling, *imin* evening, *ipin* a cloth placed round the hips of children, *kunin* cunning, *skaftin* shafting, *sperinz* the banns of marriage, *swilinz* thin liquid

food for pigs, šilin shilling, topin the front part of the hair of the head, runin running, and similarly in all present participles and words ending in the lit. language in -ing.

3. Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

§ 246. a. Initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

bāt without, beet to abate, kros across, levn eleven, piniēn opinion, prentis apprentice, sailm asylum.

bezl to embezzle, bake tobacco, kos because, lāns allowance, list to enlist, live(r) deliver, lotments allotments, piel to appeal, saieti society, saizez aësizes, ses to assess, tax, tais to entice, twīn between, vantidž advantage.

deevi affidavit, demek (lit. epidemic) potato disease.

§ 247. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

aktli actually, dif-rnt different, džen-rl general, kumpni company, nat-rl, nat-re-bl natural, nuebdi nobody, navi (lit. navigation ?) canal, oepēp halfpenny worth, penēp pennyworth, reg-le(r) regular, sumdi somebody.

Vocalic l :

anl handle, apl apple, ginl a long narrow uncovered passage, gruml to grumble, kanl candle, ketl kettle, kredl cradle, kudl to embrace, sirl single, smitl to infect, spinl spindle, piiml thimble, uml humble.

Vocalic m :

bodm bottom, buism bosom, evm heaven, fadm fathom, fipms five pence, kustm custom, luensm lonely, wizdm wisdom, wise, wiəpm weapon.

Vocalic n :

ādn to harden, brimstn brimstone, eənšn ancient, fasn to

fasten, fešn fashion, frozn frozen, indžn engine, inlnd England, fotn (pp.) fought, foetn fortune, mutn mutton, pidžn pigeon, ratn rat, sāvnt servant, seldn seldom, slidn (pp.) slid, tšozn chosen, pāzn thousand.

Vocalic *n*:

beegn bargain, beekn bacon, brokn broken, dokn dock, drukn drunk, drunken, rekñ to reckon, spokn spoken, sukn sunk, tuekn token, ugn hip, wegñ wagon, wokn to waken.

Svarabhakti.

§ 248. A vowel has been developed between *l*, *r*, and a following consonant in: *galek* (O. Fr. *galc*) *left hand*, *sterek* (OE. *stirc*, also *styric*) *heifer*, *tšerep* (ME. *chirpen*) *to chirp*.

Weak Forms and Particles.

§ 249. The following is a fairly complete list, arranged alphabetically, of words which have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Any other unaccented forms not given here will be found under the headings of pronouns, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions.

The auxiliary verb *diu* is never used in asking questions, except when it begins the sentence: *dije* (*deje*) *pínk il* (*el*) *diut?* *do you think he will do it?* but *wile diut, pínk je?* *will he do it, do you think?* The auxiliary verb *have* (*ev*, *e*; *ev, e*) is often omitted entirely, or perhaps rather has disappeared through assimilation; thus *a dunt I have done it, we funt we have found it*; here *fun* is the pp. and not the pret., *we found it* is *we fant*.

a=I. Chiefly used in direct assertions: *a fan em I found them.*

abed yes but: **abed** ða men ger up suin yes but thou must get up soon.

am, aim, im I am. aim, am are used in principal and im in subordinate sentences: aim or am nuen bān tē stop hie(r) I am not going to stop here. if im wīl inif if I am well enough.

bi=1. *be*: wil ðe bi wi em? will they be with them?

= 2. *by*: bi nā by now.

bin been.

bed but.

-d=1. *had*: ðed they had, ad I had.

= 2. *would, wouldst*: ðad e tē diut thou wouldst have to do it.

də, di do: dejə or dijə þink el kum? do you think he will come?

duz, dus (voiceless before the t) *does, dost*: þa duz thou dost, but dus tē? *dost thou?*

e, ev have: wis et we shall have it, but wis ev em we shall have them.

ez, es hast, has: cp. *duz, dus*.

e=1. a: e boni bān a pretty child.

= 2. *he* (in subordinate sentences and interrogatively, in other cases it is ī).

= 3. *her* (before consonants): e faðe(r) her father.

= 4. *have* (weakest form): ast e dunt if id ed e tšons I should have done it, if I had had a chance.

= 5. *on* : e ði rig on thy back.

= 6. *of* (may be used before a vowel or a consonant, ev only before vowels):

e pund e or ev aplz a pound of apples.

NOTE.—Through e being also the unaccented form of on, it often happens that on is used where we should expect ev, as toef on em the half of them.

ed=1. *had*.

=2. *would*: it **ed** or **ted** *tak e lot* *it would take a lot*.
em or rather **m** (vocalic) *them*: *sam em up* *pick them up*.

en *a:n*: **en apl** *an apple*.

en or rather **n** (vocalic)=

1. *and*: **Doed en Eels** *George and Alice*.

2. *one*: it **wer e guid en** *it was a good one*.

e(r)=1. *or*.

=2. *are*.

et=1. *at*. **et uem** *at home*.

=2. *that* (cj.): **a sī et im rex** *I see that I am wrong*.

=3. *who, whom* (rel.): **im et sed sue** *he who said so*,
ðem et we soe dān trued *those whom we saw
down the road*.

ev=1. *have* (weakest form before vowels): **ðe med ev ed**
it bi nā they might have had it by now.

=2. *of* (before vowels): **toef ev e keek** *the half of a
tea-cake*.

ez=1. *us*: **giv ez e tūþri** *give us a few* (lit. two or three).

=2. *he has*: **wen ez wešt isen** *when he has washed
himself*.

=3. *he is*: **wol ez bān** *until he is going*.

=4. *as*.

fe(r) *for*.

frē *from*.

i=1. *in*: **i tās** *in the house*.

=2. *I* (in subordinate and interrogative sentences,
see a): **sali et?** *shall I have it?* **if i ger it if I**
get it.

=3. *he* (in direct assertions): **i sez he says**.

inte *into*.

iz his, but **is** before voiceless sounds: **a mer iz muðe(r)**
I met his mother, but is faðe(r) his father.

je=1. *ye, you.*

=2. *your* (before consonants).

=3. *you are* (before consonants) **je bān, āje?** *you are going, are you?*

jet=1. *yet.*

=2. *you it: al sel jet I will sell you it.*

ked *could.*

kn (vocalic n) *can: ða kn see wot te laiks thou canst say what thou likest.*

I will: *al I'll, wil we will, etc.*

me=1. *me gi(v) me e feu give me a few.*

=2. *may: ame wēk wol i drop fer out ta keez I may work until I drop for anything thou carest.*

med *might.*

men or rather **mn** (with vocalic n)

=1. *must: a men gue I must go.*

=2. *man: diu it, mən do it, man.*

mi *my.*

ne(r)=1. *nor.*

=2. *than (after a comparative).*

net, nt (the form **net** is seldom used. The usual form is **nt**) *not.*

s us (after voiceless consonant): *lets ev em let us have them.*

s, sl: *ðasl, ðas et thou shalt have it.*

sānt *shall not.*

sant *saint (before proper names).*

se *so.*

sed, st *should, shouldst: ða sed or ðast e dunt thou shouldest have done it.*

še *she (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases šú).*

t=1. *the* : *tman* *the man.*

=2. *it* : *len met* *lend me it.*

=3. *art* : *ðat e fuil* *thou art a fool.*

ta, te thou (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases *ðā*).

te, tev (before vowels) *to.*

ðe there : *ðez* *there is, there has, there are.*

ðe=1. *thee* : *a spak te ðe* *I spoke to thee.*

=2. *they* : *mun ðe stop?* *must they stop?*

=3. *they (are)* : *ðe nuen se ritš* *they are not so rich.*

=4. *they (have)* : *wen ðe funt* *when they have found it.*

=5. *their* (before consonants).

ði thy.

v have : *wiv sint* *we have seen it.*

wa why. The unaccented form of *wai*, cp. **a** beside *ai I*, **wol** beside *wail* *while, until.* It is always used when speaking in an encouraging manner to a person : **wa lad**, **ða men trai why lad**, *thou must try.*

we=1. *we* : *sal we gue?* *shall we go?*

=2. *our* (before consonants) *we faðe buits our father's boots*, but **we** *soe wer ont* *we saw our aunt.*

=3. *we (are)* : *we bān te d'len* *we are going to the Glen.*

=4. *was, were* : **a we liukin fojø** *I was looking for you.*

wed *would.*

wi=1. *with.*

=2. *we* (in direct assertions).

=3. *wilt* : *wite* *wilt thou.*

wol *until*, unaccented form of *wail* (noun) *while.*

z=1. *is* : *iz he is.*

=2. *has, hast* : *ðaz thou hast, iz he has.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSONANTS.

The Semi-vowels.

w.

a. Initially.

§ 250. OE. initial w has remained before vowels: *waip* to *wipe*, *weed* to *wade*, *wee(r)* to *spend money*, *wāk* *work*, *wiðe(r)* to *hurl, throw*, *woef* *insipid*, *wote(r)* *water*.

It also appears as w in words of Norse origin: *weeve(r)* to *waver*, *winde* *window*, *wik* *quick*, *alive*, *win* *wing*, *wont* *want*.

In words of French origin we have w in some words and v in others, just as in the lit. language: *warend* to *warrant*, *weedž* *wage*, *weet* to *wait*, *walep* to *beat, flog*, *vari* *very*, *viel* *veal*, *vois* *voice*, *voiðe(r)* a large clothes' basket.

It has disappeared in the combination wr: *rait* to *write*, *ren* *wrong*. Examples for wl- are wanting.

It has also generally remained in the OE. combinations hw, dw, þw, tw, sw, as *wot* *what*, *wil* *wheel*, *dwinl* to *dwindle*, *dwāf* *dwarf*, *witl* (ME. þwitel) *large carving knife*, *wer* (OE. þwang) *thong*, *wak* to *beat, flog*, *twaïs* *twice*, *twot* *pudendum fem.*, *swiet* to *sweat*, *sweep* the handle of a machine.

kw mostly occurs in French words: **kweet quart**, **kwari quarry**, **kwaleti quality**.

Initial **w** has disappeared in the weak forms of **wil will**, **wod would**, as **al gue I will go**, **id diut**, **if e kud he would do it**, **if he could**.

w has also disappeared in: **kil to kill**, **kud cud**, **sued sword**, **sits such**, **sump a puddle or dirty pool of water**. **tū two**, **ue who**.

b. Medially.

Medial **w** + final vowel have become **e** after consonants: **swole** (OE. *swalwe*) *swallow*, **spare** (OE. *spearwa*) *sparrow*, **jare** *yarrow*, **wide** (OE. *widwe*) *widow*, *widower*.

aw > oe: **tloē** (OE. *clawu*) *claw*, § 63.

āw > oe: **bloē** *to blow*, **noē** *to know*, **sloē** *slow*, **snoē** *snow*, § 123.

eow, ew > eu: **eu** (OE. *eowu*) *ewe*, **streu** (OE. *strewian*) *to strew*, § 85.

ēaw > eu: **deu** (OE. *dēaw*) *dew*, **feu** *few*, **eu** (OE. *hēawan*) *to hew*, § 180.

ēow > iu, eu: **triu** *true*, **riu** *to rue*, **briu** *to brew* **eu** *yew*, **seu** *to sew*, § 190.

īw > iu: **spiu** *to spew*, § 159.

ōw > ou: **dlou** *to glow*, **grou** *to grow*, **flou** *to flow*, § 166.

§ 251. **w** has disappeared in words compounded with **ward**: **bakedz** *backwards*, **fored forward**, **oeked** *awkward*, **tādz** *towards*, § 243; as also in those compounded with **worth**: **oepēp** *halfpenny worth*, **penep** *pennyworth*, **siks-penep** *sixpenny worth*, etc.

It has also disappeared in: **midif midwife**, **oles always**, **sumet** (et may here however be the rel. pr.) *something, anything*, **anse(r) answer**, **grunsil groundsel**.

j.

§ 252. OE. initial j, mostly written g, has had the same development as in lit. Engl.: *jǐ, je ye, you, jie(r) year, jon yon, juek yoke, jur̥ young.*

§ 253. French ü, which has become juw in lit. Engl., appears in the W. dial. as a falling diphthong initially, medially, and finally: *ius use, iuneti unity, flute(r) future, viu view, § 237.*

The Liquids.

l.

§ 254. l has generally remained unchanged: *lap to wrap up, lat late, lig to lie down, loin lane, lium loom.*

boeld (ME. **balled**) *bald, molt malt, fild field, mild mild, wild wild, bild to build, flik flicht of bacon, jole yellow, tšelte(r) to clot, coagulate (of blood), twilt quilt, nozл to beat, thrash, blob bubble, galesez braces.*

džoul *to knock, strike, kāl to frown, foel to fall, koil coal, teel tale, swiel to gutter (of a candle).*

§ 255. al has become œ in the combinations **lf**, OE. **lh, lk, lm, ll, lv.** For examples see §§ 62, 198. To these add: **omest** *almost, oeminak almanac, oemend almond.*

al has become ou before a following d. For examples see §§ 64, 199.

ol has become ou before a following consonant. For examples see §§ 103, 220.

§ 256. l has also disappeared before a following consonant in: **witš** (OE. **hwelc**) *which, sitš (OE. swelc) such, bük bulk, stüp (ME. stolpe) a post.*

It has also disappeared in: **wod, wed, -d** (§ 397) *would,*

sud, sed, st (§ 391) *should, sānt shall not, s* (§ 391) *shall, wite?* (§ 397) *wilt thou? wient will not.*

In *fout* (ME. *faute*, Fr. *faute*) *fault*, *māt* (cp. Lat. *mūtāre*) to *moult*, there probably never was an *l* in the dialect forms.

§ 257. Consonantal *l*, when it came to stand finally, has become vocalic after consonants: *adl* to *earn*, *kitl* to *tickle*, *nibl* to *nibble*, *ridl* *sieve*, *satl* to *settle*. For further examples see § 247 *b*.

r.

§ 258. *r*, which is a gently (not strongly as in Scotch) trilled sound, has only remained intact before a following vowel:

raiv to *tear*, *reit* *right*, *ram* to *thrust*, *press*, *rīzd* *rancid (of bacon)*, *brīr* to *bring*, *brek* to *break*, *beri* to *bury*, *fere* *furrow*, *sore* *sorrow*, *sare* to *serve*, *vari* *very*.

r has probably been lost in *aim* (OE. *hrīm*?) *hoarfrost*.

§ 259. Before a following consonant it has entirely disappeared: *bān* (§ 61) *child*, *bied* (§ 68) *beard*, *wāk* (§ 74) *work*, *bēk* (§ 90) *birch*, *boen* (§ 104, 1) *born*, *buēd* (§ 104, 2) *board*, *dēst* (§ 113, 1) *durst*, *bēp* (§ 120, 1) *birth*, *aēn* (§ 157) *iron*, *dālin* (§ 189) *darling*, *kweet* (§ 203) *quart*, *sāvt* (§ 207) *servant*, *oeðe(r)* (§ 223) *order*, *kēn* (§ 228) *currant*, *faðe(r)* *father*, pl. *faðez*, *swie(r)* to *swear*, but *i swiez he* *swears*.

NOTE.—The above list contains one example only of the various vowels which have been influenced through the absorption of the *r*; for full lists of examples, see the paragraphs enclosed in parentheses.

§ 260. *r*, which has come to stand finally in the modern dialect, is still slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when

the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. *fear*, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. *far*. We thus make a distinction between **pē** *pay*, and **pē(r)** *pair*, **kā** *cow*, and **kāθ(r)** *to cower*.

r disappears, of course, altogether in the sentence when the next word begins with a consonant: *ajə bān?* *are you going?* *wi wē leekin?* *we were playing.*

Examples of final **r** are: **wāθ(r)** *worse*, **d̄lue(r)** *to stare hard*, **smuəθ(r)** *to smother*, **b̄ie(r)** *to bear*, **pie(r)** *pear*.

§ 261. In addition to the examples in which **r** has undergone metathesis in the lit. language as, **bēd** *bird*, **bēn** *to burn*, **br̄it** *bright*, **frit** *fright*, **ōes** *horse*, **pēd** *third*, we have **brust** *to burst*, **gēn** *to grin*, **gēs** (also OE. *gær̄s*) *grass*, **gēsl** *gristle*, **gēt** *great*, **kēsmēs** *Christmas*, **kēsn** *to christen*.

§ 262. **r** has disappeared in **pim-ruez** *primrose*.

The Nasals.

m.

§ 263. **m** has generally remained unchanged: **muml** *to mumble*, **muin** *moon*, **mistl** *cow-house*, **mizl** *to drizzle (of rain)*, **mun** *must*, **mūd** *crowded, crammed*.

gami *lame*, **kākumē(r)** *cucumber*, **niml** *nimble*, **treml** *to tremble*, **tšeemē(r)** *chamber*, **tuml** *to tumble*, **uml** *humble*.

brim *to put the boar to the sow*, **gam** *to gamble*, **krum** *crumb*, **rām** *room*, **sam** *up to pick up*.

§ 264. **m** has become vocalic after consonants: **bodm** *bottom*, **fadm** *fathom*, **film** *film*, **kindm** *kingdom*. **m** is also vocalic in **em** (= **m**) *them*.

n.

§ 265. Initial **n** has remained unchanged: **nate(r)** *to gnaw, nibble, nati neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people), navi canal, nit night, nie(r) kidney, noilz* (pl.) *the short hairs taken out of wool by the combing machine.*

§ 266. When **n** has remained medial in the W. dial., it has generally undergone no change: **dwinl** *to dwindle, kanl candle, sind to rinse, wash out, spinl spindle, þune(r) thunder.*

§ 267. Medial **n** has disappeared before **s** in unaccented syllables without compensation lengthening: **estied instead, Robisn Robinson, Adkisn Atkinson.**

§ 268. **n** has remained when it has come to stand finally after vowels or was already final in OE.: **ain** (ME. **hīne**) *hind, bin* (OE. **binnan**) *within, bleen* *blain, boil, gruin* *a pig's snout, don* *to put on one's clothes, len* (OE. **lēnan**) *to lend, nuin* *noon, olin* *holly, speen* (OE. **spanan**) *to wean.*

§ 269. **n** has become vocalic after dentals and sibilants: **eenšn** *ancient, fešn* *fashion, fezn* *pheasant, frozn* *frozen, miln* (OE. **myln**) *mill, ratn* (O. Fr. **raton**) *rat, seldn* (OE. **seldon**) *seldom.* For other examples see § 247 b.

§ 270. **n** has become vocalic **m** after labials by assimilation:

apm (lit. *happen*) *perhaps, fipms* *fivepence, þrepm* *three pence, etc., opm* *open, wiepm* *weapon.* For further examples see § 247 b.

evm *even, imin* *evening, sevm* *seven, uvm* *oven, wovm* *woven.*

§ 271. **n** has become vocalic **r** after gutturals:
beegr *bargain, ugr* *hip, wegr* *wagon.*

brokn *broken*, **buēkn** (ME. *bolkin*) *to retch, belch*, **kn** (weak form of **kan** *can*, **akn** *diut I can do it*), **spokn** *spoken*, **stākn** *to stiffen*, **wokn** *to waken*.

§ 272. **n** generally disappears in **e on**, **i in**. It has also disappeared in **oēpēþ** *halfpenny worth*. It has also disappeared by assimilation in **amēt** *am not*.

D.

§ 273. The guttural **n**, written **n** in OE., only occurred before the gutturals **g** and **c**.

It has generally remained in accented syllables in the W. dialect: **bin** (O. Icel. *bingr heap*) *bin*, **brin** *to bring*, **drink** *to drink*, **in** (ME. *hengen*) *to hang*, **lin** (O. Icel. *lyng*) *heather*, **tenz** *tongs*, **pin** *thing*, **pink** *to think*, **wen** *thong*.

fīne(r) *finger*, never **fīnge(r)** as in lit. Engl., **inlīš** *English*; **minl** *to mingle*, **unē(r)** *hunger*, **sinl** *single*.

NOTE.—**kindm** (OE. *cynedōm*) but lit. Engl. *kingdom*, through association with *king*.

§ 274. **n** has disappeared through assimilation before the following **kn** in the pp. of verbs ending in **nk**: **drukn** *drunk*, *drunken*, **sukn** *sunk*, **slukn** *slunk*, **šrukñ** *shrunk*. But see § 368.

§ 275. **n** has become **n** before the following dental in : **lenþ** *length*, **strenþ** *strength*.

§ 276. **n** has regularly become **n** in unaccented syllables : **fādin** *farthing*, **gezlin** *gosling*, **imin** *evening*, **iezinz** *the eaves of a building*, **midin** (ME. *midding*) *dunghill*, **runin** *running*, and similarly in all present participles.

§ 277. Palatal **n**, written **n** in OE., only occurred before the palatal forms of **g** and **c**.

In the W. dial. it has become dental **n** as in lit. Engl.: *drenš* (OE. *drencean*) to *drench*, *sinž* (OE. *sengan*) to *singe*.

'The Labials.

p.

§ 278. **p** has remained in all positions:

pei pea, pimruəz primrose, piek perch, pāk a kind of blain, poem palm, poēz (O. Fr. *poulser*) *to kick, poutri poultry, prog to collect wood for the bonfire on the fifth of November, preet to prate, babble, put to put.*

lopstā(r) (OE. *loppestre*) *lobster, speed spade, speen to wean.*

dolep lump of dirt, draip to drip, elp to help, filep to beat, flog, kep to catch (a ball), kraps the renderings of lard, lop flea, noep (ME. *nolpen*) *to hit on the head.*

§ 279. Assimilation has taken place as in lit. Engl. in *emti* (ME. *empti*, but OE. *āmet(t)ig*) *empty*, *kubed cupboard*.

b.

§ 280. The voiced explosive **b** has generally remained in the W. dialect:

bān child, bef (ME. *beffin*) *to cough, bek beck, ber* (O. Icel. *banga* *to hammer*), *to throw, hit violently, bid to invite to a funeral, boged ghost, brig bridge, bun bound.*

bleb blister, bluðe(r) *to weep, generally used in the phrase te bluðe(r) en rue(r)* lit. *to blubber and roar, gab* (cp. O. N. *gabba*) *impudence, kubed cupboard, neb beak, nub to nudge, nuebdi nobody, web web.*

§ 281. **b** has disappeared after **m**: *kuem comb, lam lamb, tlim to climb, wuem womb.* Also in *sumdi somebody.*

§ 282. **b** never occurs between **m-l** or **m-r**, as in lit. Engl.: *eseml* to *assemble*, *fuml* to *fumble*, *muml* to *mumble*, *niml* *nimble*, *raml* to *ramble*, *treml* to *tremble*, *tuml* to *tumble*, *piml* *thimble*, *uml* *humble*.

kākumə(r) *cucumber*, **nume(r)** *number*, **slume(r)** *slumber*, **tšeemə(r)** *chamber*.

f.

§ 283. OE. **f** was used to represent both the voiceless (=Mod. Engl. **f**) and the voiced (=Mod. Engl. **v**) spirant.

1. Initially it was voiceless and corresponds to Germanic **f**.

2. Medially it was voiced, except in the combinations **ff**, **ft**, **fs**. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 192.

3. Finally it was probably voiceless in the historic period even when it corresponded to Germanic **b**. But when OE. **f** came to stand medially through being followed by a case, or personal ending, etc., it was voiced, thus *wif* *wife*, gen. *wifes*, pret. sing. *geaf* *I*, *he gave*, pl. *gēafon*. In this case the W. dial., like lit. Engl., has sometimes generalized the one form, sometimes the other. We shall here treat the sounds in the above order.

1. **faðe(r)** *father*, **feu** *few*, **flee** to *frighten*, **flumeks** to *confound*, *cheat*, **foil** *foal*, **foud** *fold*, **fouk** *folk*, **fout** *fault*, **freem** to *make a start*, **fudl** to *confuse*, **fuzi** *soft*, *spongy*.

2. **eft** *haft*, **gift** *gift*, **rift** to *belch*, **eructate**, **sift** to *sift*, **weft** *weft*, **kuf** *cuff*.

delv to *delve*, **daiv** to *dive*, **draiv** to *drive*, **duv** *dove*, **evm** *heaven*, **ivə(r)** *ever*, **kāv** to *carve*, **kuəv** *cove*, **live(r)** *liver*, **neiv** (O. Icel. *knefi*) *fist*, **nive(r)** *never*, **raiv** (O. Icel. *rīfa* to *break*) to *tear*, **siv** *sieve*, **stāv** to *starve*, **stuəv** *stove*, **šeəv** to *shave*, **šuv** to *shove*, **praiv** to *thrive*, **weiv** to *weave*.

ev, əv, e have, and liv to live are, of course, not directly developed from OE. *habban, libban* but from the forms without gemination, as *hafað he has, hæfde he had, liofað he lives, lifde he lived.*

It has disappeared as in lit. Engl. in such words as: *ez hast, has, elte(r) (OE. healfster) halter, ənent opposite, ied head, kroel to crawl, oæk hawk, leedi lady, loed lord, wimin women, wumən woman.*

It has also disappeared in: *ebūn above, əmin evening, steim (ME. stefnen, OE. ge-stefnian and a stemnian to give voice for, appoint) to bespeak a thing, šūl shovel, gīn given, oue(r) beside ove(r) over, niə(r) beside nive(r) never, and generally also in the present gi, pret. ga and e, e have, when the next word begins with a consonant.*

The voiced spirant has become **b** in *rebit rivet*, if the dial. word is etymologically the same as the lit. Engl. word.

3. *delf stone quarry, kaf chaff, oef half, ruif roof, tēf turf, þif thief, uif hoof, waif wife.*

aiv hive, faiv five, greev grave, twelv twelve.

f has disappeared in: *oepni halfpenny, e of, sel, sen self.*

§ 284. *tē to* appears as *tēv* when the next word begins with a vowel: *tēv e man to a man.*

The **Dentals.**

t.

§ 285. Initial **t** has remained: *taid feast-time, teem tame, temz (ME. temse) hop-sieve, teu (OE. tēawian) to work zealously, toe a marble of any kind, toidi small, little, troləp a dirty, untidy person, tul (O. Icel. til) to.*

§ 286. Medial **t** has mostly remained unchanged:

antm (OE. *antefn*) *anthem*, **getn** *got*, **nati** *neat*, *tidy*, *dexterous* (*of old people*), **ratn** *rat*, **tlustē(r)** *cluster*.

It has become **d** in **bodm** *bottom*, **praid** *pride*. It has become **r** in **poreats** *potatoes*, has undergone metathesis in **witek** *wicket*, and disappeared before the **b** in **nobed** (lit. *not but*) *only*.

§ 287. **t** is dropped between **s** and a following **l** or **n** in :

busl *bustle*, **bruslz** *bristles*, **gēsl** *gristle*, **kasl** *castle*, **rasl** to *wrestle*, **prosl** *thrush*, **wisl** *whistle*, **dēsnt** *durst not*; but **mistl** (O. Icel. *mjalta-sel* *shed for milking*) *cow-house*.

brusn (pp.) *burst*, **fasn** to *fasten*, **lisn** to *listen*, **ouē-kesn** *overcast*, *gloomy* (*of the sky*), **prusn** (pp.) *thrust*.

ts > ss > s in **wisnde** *Whitsuntide*. Whitsunday is **wisnde** *sunde*.

§ 288. The **t** in French words which has become **tš** in lit. Engl. through the influence of the following **ü** has remained in the W. dialect :

fête(r) *feature*, **fēnite(r)** *furniture*, **flute(r)** *future*, **foetn** *fortune*, **kriete(r)** *creature*, **moiste(r)** *moisture*, **neete(r)** *nature*, **natrel** *natural*, **paste(r)** *pasture*, **pikte(r)** *picture*, **vente(r)** *to venture*.

§ 289. When **t** came to stand finally in the W. dial., or was final already in OE., it has generally remained :

fift (OE. *fifta*) *fifth*, **sikst** *sixth*, **toist** *toast*, **twelft** *twelfth*.
bāt *without*, **feit** to *fight*, **gēt** *great*, **goit** (ME. *gote*) *water channel*, **mīt** to *meet*, **out holt**, **slāt** to *bedabbler*, **suit** *soot*.

bit *bit*, **fat** *fat*, **it** *it*, **kot** *staples of wool tightly entangled together*, **lat** (OE. *lætt*) *lath*, **lat** *late*, **mat** *mat*, **net** *net*, **wet** *wet*.

§ 290. The **t** in all verbal forms ending in **t** preceded by a short vowel, appears as **r** when the next word begins with a vowel. We regularly say : **amīt im ivri dēo** *I meet*

him every day; but **amer im ivri dee** *I met him every day*. Similarly with **get me wun** *get me one*, **ger up** *get up*, **gar got**, **ir to hit**, **ler to let**, **pur to put**, **sar sat**, **ser to set**, **sir to sit**, **šur to shut**, etc. Also in all the present participles, as **gerin** *getting*.

NOTE.—This phenomenon is widely spread in Mod. English dialects. See EEP. vol. v. p. 420.

The same is also the case with the pronoun **wot what**: **wotste dun?** *what hast thou done?* but **wor iz it?** *what is it?*

§ 291. **t** has become **d** in: **abed yes but**, **bed but**, **prād proud**, **buzēd** (O. Fr. **busart**), *butterfly*, **Adkisn Atkinson**, **warēnd to warrant**.

§ 292. It has been dropped in **kēn currant**, **sādžn sergeant**, **džais** (O. Fr. **giste**) *joist*. The older generation also say **omes almost**, **āvis harvest**, **biēs** (lit. *beast*) *cow*, *cows*.

§ 293. A **t** is never pronounced in **eenšn** (Fr. *ancien*) *ancient*, **fezn** (O. Fr. *faisan*) *pheasant*, **tairēn** *tyrant*.

§ 294. **t** is excrecent in **vāment vermin**.

d.

§ 295. Initial **d** has remained: **daiv to dive**, **deu dew**, **dī to die**, **died dead**, **dof to undress**, **don to dress**, **dreet to drawl**.

§ 296. Medial **d** has also generally remained unchanged:

fidl fiddle, **inde(r) to hinder**, **midin** (ME. *midding*, Dan. *mögdynge*) *dunghill*, **midl middle**, **nīdl needle**, **ridn rideñ**, **widē widow**, **sadl saddle**, **redi ready**.

§ 297. Intervocalic **d** followed by **r** in the next syllable

has become ð: **bleðe(r)** *bladder*, **bluðe(r)** *to cry, weep*, **diðe(r)** (ME. *diderin*) *to shiver*, **faðe(r)** *father*, **foðe(r)** *fodder*, **geðe(r)** *to gather*, **tæ-geðe(r)** *together*, **iðe(r)** *hither*, **konsiðe(r)** *to consider*, **laðe(r)** *ladder*, **moiðe(r)** *to ponder, be anxious about a thing*, **muðe(r)** *mother*, **pāðe(r)** *powder*, **šuðe(r)** *to shudder*, **tluðe(r)** *to get closely together*, **uðe(r)** *udder*, **voiðe(r)** (O. Fr. *voide* *to void*) *a large clothes' basket*, **weðe(r)** *weather*.

NOTE.—The words *thither* and *whither* are not used in the dialect.

The law also holds good when an l or r has disappeared before the d: **soðe(r)** *solder*, **mēðe(r)** *murder*, **oððe(r)** *to order*.

NOTE.—The ð in **mēðe(r)** is probably not the þ in OE. *myrþran*, but rp became rd (§ 306, 2) and then ð by the above law.

§ 298. d never occurs between n—l, n—r, as in lit. English:

anl *handle*, **dwinl** *to dwindle*, **kanl** *candle*, **kinlin** *fire-wood*, **spinl** *spindle*.

gane(r) *gander*, **þune(r)** *thunder*.

§ 299. d has disappeared in **ansem** *handsome*, **anfl** *handful*, **grunsil** *groundsel*, **gran-faðe(r)**, **gram-faðe(r)** *grandfather*, **lanloed** *landlord*, **unded** *hundred*, but **undet** (by assimilation of dt) *hundredth*.

§ 300. OE. final d and the medial d which has come to stand finally in the W. dial. have generally remained: **bid** *to invite to a funeral*, **find** *to find*, **grund** *ground*, **od** *to hold*, **oud** *old*, **pund** *pound*, **roid** *a clearing (of a wood)*, **sind** *to rinse, wash out*, **wund** *a wound*, **bliær-id** *blear-eyed*.

§ 301. d has disappeared after n in: **bran** (OE. **brand**) *niu* *quite new*, **en** *and*, **þazn** *thousand*, **uzbn** *husband*,

and also in the pret. and pp. of the verbs **bind** *to bind*, **find** *to find*, **wind** *to wind*, thus: **ban**, **bun**; **fan**, **fun**; **wan**, **wun**.

d has also been dropped in **skaf** *scaffold*, **skafin** *scaffolding*.

§ 302. Final **ndz** has become **nz**: **anz** *hands*, **frenz** *friends*, **senz** *sends*, **grunz** (lit. *grounds*) *sediment*. **pāzn** and **uzbn** may accordingly be new formations from the plural forms.

§ 303. A **d** is never pronounced in **ain** (ME. **hīne**) *hind*, **bān** (O. Icel. **būenn**) *going*, as **wiē tē bān?** *where art thou going?*, **lēn** (OE. **lēnan**) *to lend*.

§ 304. **d** is excrescent in **arēnd** (ME. **aranie**, O. Fr. **araigne**) *spider*, **drānd** *to drown*.

§ 305. **d** has become **t** in **wātē** (lit. *work-day*), *week-day*, **wēsit** *worsted*, **st** the weak form of **sud** *should*. In **be-int** *behind*, the **t** is probably due to the **t** in **frunt** *front*; for similar examples see Paul-Braune's Beiträge, xiii. p. 590. In the phrase **iust tē wod** or **wed** *to be wont* or *willing*, the **t** is due to assimilation with **tē**: **ða iust tē wed diu e bit e wāk** *thou wast formerly wont to do a bit of work*.

þ.

§ 306. OE. **þ**, also written **ð**, was a voiceless spirant like the **th** in lit. Engl. *thin*, initially, finally as also medially except probably between voiced sounds. Between voiced sounds it was probably voiced like the **th** in lit. Engl. *breathe*. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 201.

We shall here adopt the following order: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound or its further development has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When it has become final in

the W. dialect. In this case two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced sound. Cp. § 283, 3.

Fifty years ago **f** for **p** and **v** for **ð** were quite general throughout the Township of Idle, but they have now practically disappeared except as an individualism. When I was a boy **p** and **ð** were regularly used among the younger Windhill people, but **f** and **v** were still generally used in Thackley and Idle, which are only about a mile distant from W. I well remember how we used to twit the Thackley and Idle people about their pronunciation of these sounds: **faklə** *Thuckley*, **fink** *think*, **fēd** *third*, **leev** *barn*, **smivi** *smithy*, etc.

i. **p** has remained voiceless except in pronouns and the adverbs derived from them:

pak *thatch*, **pink** *to think*, **poil** *to give ungrudgingly*,
praiv *to thrive*, **priep** (OE. **prēapian** *to rebuke*) *to contradict, dispute*.

In the pronouns and the adverbs derived from them there originally existed double forms: the stressed forms with **p** and the unstressed forms with **ð**. The W. dial., like lit. Engl., has generalised the latter, which are now used both as the stressed and unstressed forms. See the Chapter on the pronouns:

ðā *thou*, **ði** *thy*, **ðat** (only as demonstrative, the rel. pr. and cj. is **et** which is of Norse origin) *that*, **ðem** (mostly as demonstrative, the pers. pr. is **em**) *those*, **ðis** *this*, etc.; **ðie(r)** *there*, **ðen** *then*, etc.

The def. art. is generally **t** and is attached to the following word, thus **tman** *the man*, **toudn** *the old one*, **tkoilz** *the coals*. We make a clear distinction between **teebl** *table* and **t'eebl** *the table*, **eit** *eight* and **eit'** *eighth*, the former is the ordinary Engl. **t** and the latter is a suspended **t**. **ð** has

become t in the nom. of the second pers. sing. of the pers. pronoun when used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences (§ 350): *es-tə?* *hast thou?* *sal-tə?* *shalt thou?* *witə?* *wilt thou?* *kantə diut?* *canst thou do it?* *þa kn̄ gue wen tet redi* *thou canst go when thou art ready.*

p has disappeared before w in: *wak* to beat severely, see Skeat, Et. Dict., *witl* (ME. þwitel) large carving knife, *wen* (OE. þwang) thong.

Occasionally the p is omitted in the pres. tense of *þink*, as *a ink* I think.

2. Between vowels we have ð: *feðe(r)* feather, *laðe(r)* foam, *froðe(r)* froth, *leðe(r)* leather, *reðe(r)* rather, *smiði* smithy, *weðe(r)* (OE. weðer) the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before.

It has become d medially after r in: *bēdn* burden, *fādin* farthing, *efued* to afford.

It has also become d in: *fadm* fathom, *snodn* to make smooth, *snod* (O. Icel. *snoðenn* smooth (of hair), bald) smooth, even.

ð has disappeared in *moæk* (O. Icel. *maðkr*) maggot, and *besk* (O. Icel. *baðask*) to bask.

3. *baþ* bath, *dieþ* death, *frop* froth, *gēþ* girth, *ielp* health, *paþ* path, *smiþ* smith, *swāþ* (O. Icel. *swörðr*) the skin of bacon, *wēþ* worth.

brieð to breathe, *buið* booth, *leeð* (O. Icel. *hlæða*) barn, *saið* scythe, *smuið* smooth.

§ 307. It has disappeared before the s, z in *muns* months, *tluez* clothes. And also in *wi* with.

§ 308. The d in *beed* to bathe has probably been influenced by *weed* to wade.

§ 309. The ordinal numerals, except *seknd* second, *þēd* third, all end in t. Regular forms are *fēst* (OE. *fyrsta*),

first, fift (OE. *fifta*) *fifth, sikst* (OE. *siexta*) *sixth, twelft* (OE. *twelfta*) *twelfth*, after the analogy of which have been formed *fouet* (OE. *fēowerða*) *fourth, naint ninth, tent tenth*, etc.

Sibilants.

S.

§ 310. Initially and finally as also medially (except between voiced sounds) OE. **s** was a voiceless spirant like the **s** in Mod. English *sin*. Medially between voiced sounds it was possibly voiced like the **s** in Mod. English *rise*. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 204.

The development of **s** in the W. dialect is parallel with that of **f** (§ 283) and **p** (§ 306), so that we shall here distinguish the three positions: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When the sound was already final in OE. or has become final in the W. dialect. Here two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced spirant. Cp. § 283.

1. Initial **s** has remained both before vowels and consonants: *sā a drain, sough, sāk to suck, sam up to pick up, seem lard, set to set, sī* (OE. *sēon*=OHG. *sīhan*) *to stretch, sin since, sind to rinse, wash out, slate(r) to spill, smuið smooth, snod smooth, even, snikit a small passage, speik to speak, spitek spigot, steim to bespeak, stedi steady, strie straw, swāp the skin of bacon, sweep the handle of a machine.*

s (?) has become **š** in *šū, še she*.

s has also remained before **ü** in French words, whereas in the lit. language it has become **š**: *siuge(r) sugar, siue(r) sure*.

2. Medially between voiced sounds we have **z**: **bizm** *besom, biznes business, buzed butterfly, dlazn to glaze, fezn pheasant, frozn frozen, fuzi soft, spongy, mizl to drizzle (of rain), rizd rancid (of bacon), rizn risen, þazn thousand, uzbn husband, wizn to wither.*

z has also remained before **ü** in French words, but has become **ž** in the lit. language: **meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, treze(r) treasure.**

The **ð** in **siðez** *scissors* is difficult to explain. It is just possible that it may have been influenced by **saið** *scythe*, just as **mud** *might* (verb) has probably been influenced by **kud** *could*, **sud** *should*, and **be-int** *behind* by **frunt** *front*, and **beed** *to bathe* by **weed** *to wade*.

In combination with voiceless sounds **s** has been retained: **besk** *to bask, blosm blossom, fasn to fasten, kist a chest, kësn to christen, musl muscle, rasl to wrestle, rust* (O.Icel. *röst*) *rest, repose, träst to trust, prosl* (OE. *þrostle*) *thrush.*

3. **ās** *house, dlas glass, džais* (O.Fr. *giste*) *joist, gīs geese, kēs to curse, kus kiss, lās* (pl. *lais*) *louse, mās* (pl. *mais*) *mouse, muns months, oes horse, ues(t) hoaree, ðis this.*

anz *hands, bleez blaze, duz doest, does, but dus tē?* *dost thou?* **greez** *to graze, iuz to use, loiz* (OE. *losian*) *to lose, nuez nose, raiz to rise, ruez rose, temz* (ME. *temse*) *hop-sieve, tluez clothes.*

Final **z** is very common in originally unstressed forms, as **iz, z is, ðaz thou hast, ɪz he has, he is, eż, uz us, never us even as stressed form, eż as.**

§ 311. **s** has disappeared in: **pei** (ME. *pese*) *pea, ridl* (ME. *redels*) *riddle, šimi chemise, tšeri* (O.Fr. *cerise*) *cherry.*

The Gutturals.

c.

§ 312. Germanic **k**, generally written **c** in OE., remained a guttural initially before the guttural vowels **a, ā, o, ū, u** and their mutations **e, ē, e, ē (œ), y, ī**, but became a palatal before the palatal vowels **æ, ē (=OHG. ā), e (=Germanic e) ea, eo, ēa, ēo, i, ī** and their mutations **e, ie (=i-umlaut of ea, eo), īe (i-umlaut of ēa, ēo)**.

Medial **c** and **cc** remained a guttural before a following **a, o, u**, but became palatal when an **i** or **j** originally followed, as **sēc(e)an** = Goth. **sōkjan** *to seek*, **þecc(e)an** from older ***þakjan** *to cover*, **bryce** from older ***brukiz** *breach*. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 206–7.

But already at an early period the palatals became gutturals again in many cases in the Anglian dialects, e.g. **sēcan** *to seek*, **þenkan** *to think*, **cāld** *cold*. See Sweet, HES. § 535, Kluge, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, i. pp. 836–41.

1. Initial c before consonants.

c has disappeared before **n**: **neid** *to knead*, **naif** *knife*, **nī** *knee*.

It has remained before **r**: **kraps** *the renderings of lard*, **kreev** *to crave*, **krinž** *to cringe*, **kriuk** *crook*, **kroē** *craw*.

It has become **t** before **l**: **tlād** *cloud*, **tlam** *to famish*, **tlāt** *clout*, **tleg** (Lowland Scot. *clag*) *to clog*, **tlerk** *to flog*, *box on the ears*, **tliə(r)** *clear*, **tliet** *coltsfoot*, **tlien** *clean*, **tlim** *to climb*, **tlir** *to cling*, **tlip** *to clip*, **tliu** *a ball of string or worsted*, **tliv** *to cleave*, **tloe** *claw*, **tlœk** *to scratch with the fingers or claws*, **tlok** *to cluck*, **tlomp** *to tread heavily*, **tluek** *cloak*, **tlueþ** *cloth*, **tluevə(r)** *clover*. **k** has disappeared in **nek-ləþ** *neckcloth*, *handkerchief*.

2. Initially before vowels.

kā cow, **kaf** chaff, **kaind** kind, **kait** kite, **kanl** candle, **kāt** cart, **kāv** to carve, **keek** bread of every kind, **keə(r)** care, **kei** key, **kek** hemlock, **kemp** (ME. *kempe* shaggy) small coarse white hairs in wool, **kep** to catch (a ball, etc.), **kest** (ME. *kestēn*) to cast, **ketl** kettle, **kēgēt** kirkgate (but **tšētš** church), **kēnl** kernel, **kēs** to curse, **kāsmes** Christmas, **kil** to cool, **kil** (OE. *cwellan*) to kill, **kiln** kiln, **ə-kin** akin, **kin** keen, **kindm** (OE. *cynedōm*) kingdom, **kin-kof** (cp. ME. *kinken* to pant, *gasp*), whooping cough, **kīp** to keep, **kist** a chest, box, **kit** (ME. *kitte*, cp. Mid. Du. *kitte*) a pail, **kitl** to tickle, **kitl** to bring forth kittens, **kitšn** kitchen, **koef** calf, **koəl** to call, **kal** to gossip, **koen** corn, **koit** coat, **koud** cold, **kouk** (see NED. sub *colk*) coke, **kout** colt, **kubēd** cupboard, **kud** (OE. *cwidu*) cud, **kuəm** comb, **kūk** cook, **kum** to come.

tšaid to chide, **tšap** chap, **tšavl** to nibble at, gnaw, chew, **tšeū** to chew, **tšētš** church, **tšiep** cheap, **tšik** cheek, **tšikin** chicken, **tšilde(r)** children, **tšin** chin, **tšerep** to chirp, **tšiz** cheese, **tšiuz** to choose, **tšoek** chalk, **tšoul** (ME. *chavel*, O. Low Germ. *kafal*) lit. jaw, only used in the phrase **tšik en tšoul** said of two people walking closely together, **tšuek** to choke, **tšuf** proud, haughty.

3. Initial sc.

skab scab, **skaftin** shafting, **skelp** (ME. *skelpen*) to beat, flog, **skep** (O. Icel. *skeppa*) a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, **skeelz** scales, **skēf** scurf, **skai** sky, **skift** to shift, remove, **skil** skill, **skin** skin, **skoup** scoop, **skuft** the nape of the neck, **skuil** school, **skul** skull of the head, **skute(r)** to spill, **skraml** to scramble, **skreep** to scrape, **skrat** (ME. *scrattin*) to scratch, **skriem** to scream, **skrik** (O. Low Germ. *scrīcōn*) to shriek.

šak to shake, **šait** cacare, **šaiv** (ME. *schīve*, M. Low Germ. *schīve*) a slice, **šakl** shackle, **šap** shape, **šel** shell,

šelf shelf, **šeod shade**, **šeem shame**, **šeor(r) share**, **šie(r) to shear**, **šil** (ME. *schellen*, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has *schillin*) **to shell peas**, **šin shin**, **šip ship**, **šiuk shook**, **šop shop**, **šot shot**, **šut shut**, **šuðe(r) to shudder**, **šuv to shove**, **šrenk shrank**, **šrimp shrimp**, **šrink to shrink**.

Initial sc has become s in: **sal**, **sl**, **s shall**, **sud**, **sed**, **st should**.

4. When medial c has not become final in the W. dialect.

esked (cp. ME. *aske lizard*) **newt**, **fikl fickle**, **kokl cockle**, **miks** (by metathesis from OE. *miscian*) **to mix**, **sikl sickle**, **twinkl to twinkle**.

flike(r) to flicker, **neekt naked**, **snikit a small passage**, **wokn to waken**.

kitšn kitchen.

meed made, **musl mussel**, **teen taken**, **feseen forsaken**.

5. When c or its further development is final in the W. dialect.

bek beck, **beek to bake**, **brek to break**, **briuk brook**, **daik ditch**, **dreek drake**, **fleek flake (of snow)**, **bried-fleik** (O. Icel. *fleki* hurdle) **a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried**, **flik** **flitch of bacon**, **flok flock**, **ik** (cp. Low Germ. *hicken*) **to hitch**, **iuk hook**, **kok cock**, **lavrek lark**, **lek to leak**, **leek to play**, **lik to lick**, **liuk to look**, **lok lock**, **mak to make**, **muk muck**, **nek neck**, **niuk nook**, **nok to knock**, **pak bundle**, **pluk pluck**, **prik to prick**, **reek ruke**, **reik to reach**, **rik smoke**, **sāk to suck**, **sek sack**, **seek sake**, **slek small coal**, **slek to extinguish a fire with water**, **slumek a dirty, untidy person**, **sneek snake**, **snek (ME. *snekke*) latch of a door**, **spek speck**, **speik to speak**, **steek stake**, **suek to soak**, **tak to take**, **tilk tick**, **tiuk took**, **tlik (OE. *clyccan*) to clutch, seize, catch hold**, **þak thatch**, **þik thick**, **weik (ME. *weke*) the wick of a lamp or candle**, **wāk (noun) work**, **wēk to work**, **wik (O. Icel. *wik* (noun) stirring, moving) quick, alive**.

boek *balk, beam, toek to talk, wœk to walk.*

berk *bench, drink to drink, erk hank, spenk to hit, pink to think.*

bāk *bark, bēk birch, foek fork, māk mark, moek maggot, stāk* (OE. *stearc* strong, severe) *very, quite, wāk* (OE. *wærc*, O. Icel. *verkr*) *ache, pain.*

Palatal **nc** has become **nš**: **drenš** (OE. *drencean*) *to drench.*

bitš *bitch, bleitš to bleach, breitš breach, britš breech, etš to hatch, fotš to fetch, krutš crutch, latš latch, leitš leech, meitš to measure, mitš much, notš a run at the game of cricket, pitš pitch, sitš such, speitš speech, stitš stitch, stretš to stretch, swetš* (OE. *swæcc* a taste) *a sample of cloth, tletš* (cp. O. Icel. *klekja* to hatch) *a brood of chickens, teitš to teach, witš which, wotš to watch.*

6. Final **sc.**

ask (ME. *harsk*, cp. Dan. *harsk*) *dry, rough, harsh, besk to bask, busk to go about from place to place singing and playing for money.*

eš *ash-tree, fiš fish, fleš flesh, freš fresh, peš* (ME. *paschen*, cp. Swed. *paska*) *to knock about, smash, dash, reš rash, weš to wash, wiš to wish.*

sc has become **s** in **as** (OE. *æsce*) *ash, as-midin ash-pit, as beside aks* (OE. *āscian, ācsian*) *to ask, mens* (OE. *mennisc* dignity, honour) *neatness, tidiness.*

§ 313. **k** has disappeared through assimilation in **kēget** *kirkgate, kin-kof whooping cough, beside kink* (ME. **kinken** to pant, gasp) *to cough (of whooping cough), wāte* (lit. *work day, kd > kt > tt > t*) *week day.* **nk̥s > ns** in the phrase **piñs te?** *thinkest thou? as ednt'e out te (ə) dunt, piñs te?* (lit. *hadst not thou ought to have done it, thinkest thou?*) *don't you think you ought to have done it?* Many people pronounce it as if it were **piñ ste?**

§ 314. The relation, if any, of **bleg**, plural **blegz**, to *blackberry* is difficult to explain. It may be that **blakberi** became **blagberi** by assimilation, and that then **beri** was dropped. **blag** would regularly become **bleg** in the W. dial., see § 59.

g.

§ 315. OE. initial **g** was a voiced spirant before both vowels and consonants. Before guttural vowels and their mutations (cp. § 312) it was a guttural spirant, as also before **æ** (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 212), but before the palatal vowels **e** (=Germanic **e**), **ea**, **eo**, **ēa**, **ēo**, **i**, **ie** it was a palatal spirant. At a later period the guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, and **ÿ** (=i-umlaut of **ü**), **ē** (=i-umlaut of **ō**); but the palatal spirant remained. On forms like Mod. Engl. **give**, **get**, **begin**, etc., see Sweet's New English Grammar §§ 817–8, and Kluge in Paul's Grundriss I. pp. 843–4.

Medially between vowels it was a voiced spirant. After **n** (=n) it was an explosive. And when geminated (written **eg**) it was also a voiced guttural or palatal explosive according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel.

During the OE. period final **g** became **h** after long guttural vowels and **r**, **l**, Sievers § 214.

1. Initial **g** before consonants.

It has disappeared before **n**: **neeg** *to gnaw*, **nat gnat**.

It has remained before **r**: **gēsl** *gristle*, **gree** *grey*, **grün** *green*, **grund** *ground*.

Before **l** it has become **d**: **dlad** *glad*, **dlāmi** *sad, downcast*, **dlas** *glass*, **dlium** *gloom*, **dlue(r)** (ME. **glören**, Swed. **glöra**) *to stare, dlumpi* *sulky, morose*.

2. Initially before vowels.

Initially before vowels it has had the same development as in lit. Engl. :

gab (cp. O. Icel. *gabba*) *impudence, cheek, gane(r) gander, gavlek* (OE. *gafoluc spear*) *crowbar, geep to gape, geet gate, gest guest, get to get, gilt* (O. Icel. *gulta*) *a young female pig, be-gin to begin, giv, gi to give, goit a water channel, mill-stream, guet goat, goud gold, guid good.*

jād *yard, jān yarn, jel to yell, jelp to yelp, jest yeast, jestede yesterday, jild to yield, joen to yawn, jole yellow, juek yolk.*

3. When **g** or its further development has not become final in the W. dial.

æg has become **ee**: **breen** *brain, eel* *hail, feen* *fain, gladly, fee(r)* *fair, meen* *main, neel* *nail, peel* *pail, sleen* *slain, sneel* *snail, teel* *tail, see § 65.* But we have **sed** (OE. *sēde* beside *sægde*) *said.*

ag has become **oe**: **doen** *to dawn.*

āg has become **oe** in **oēn** *own.*

eg has become **ee** and has thus fallen together with **ee** from **æg**: **breed** (OE. *bregdan*) *to resemble, act like another person, geen* (O. Icel. *gegn*) *near, direct, geen* *gain, leed* *laid, leen* *lain, reel* *rail, reen* *rain, seel* *sail.* See § 84.

ig has become **i**: **stil, stī** *stile, til* *tile, cp. also stī* *ladder.* But we have **sail** from **sigelian** *to drain through a sieve, saið* from **sigþe** *scythe.* **ig** cannot have become **i** at a very early period in the North, otherwise it would have become **ai** like old **i.** Cp. also Easter, A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield, sub **sile** and **stigh.**

og has become **ou**: **floun** *flown.*

ug has become **ā**: **fāl** *fowl, kāl* *cowl.*

4. When **g**, **cg**, or their further development have become final in the W. dialect.

a. g has combined with the preceding vowel along with which it has become a long vowel or a diphthong.

æg: *dee day*, *mee* (emphatic form) *may*.

ag: *droe* to draw, *loe* law.

āg: *lou low*, *ou* to owe.

āg: *gree grey*, *tlee clay*; *kei key*, *nei* to neigh.

eg: *wee way*, *wei* to weigh.

ēg: *dī* to dye, *drī* dreary, gloomy, tedious, *tī* to tie.

īg: *stī* sty, *stī* ladder.

og: *bou* (OE. *boga*) bow.

ōg: *biu* bough, *driu* drew, *iniu* (pl.) enough, as *este* inif
briēd? hast thou enough bread? But *este* iniu poreēts?
hast thou enough potatoes? *pliu* plough, *sliu* slew.

œg: *slī* sly.

ug: *sā* sough, drain; but *suf-oil* manhole of a drain, *bā*
to bow, *sā* (OE. *sugu*) sow.

ȳg: *drai* dry.

ēag: *i* (pl. *in*) eye.

ēog: *fī* to fly, *flī* fly, *lī* to tell a lie.

b. After l we have e, i: *bele* to bellow, *folē* to follow, *gales*
gallows, *swole* to swallow, *tale* tallow, *beli* belly.

After r we have e, i: *bore* to borrow, *mare* marrow, *sore*
sorrow, *beri* berry, *beri* to bury, *weri* to worry.

c. Final ig in unaccented syllables has become i: *bodi* body,
dizi dizzy, *evi* heavy, *moni* many, *oni* any, *rudi* ruddy.

d. We have f in: *duef* dough, *duefi* cowardly, lit. doughy,
dwāf dwarf, *inif* (sing.) enough, *sluf* slough, *suf-oil* man-
hole of a drain, *trof* trough, *uf* displeasure, an offended
manner, rage.

Here may conveniently be placed *druft* (OE. *drūgap*)
drought, *sterep* (OE. *stīg-rāp*) stirrup, *bākm* (OE. *beorg* +
ham, see N.E.D. sub *bargham*) the collar of a horse.

NOTE.—*sā* drain, and *iniu* (pl.) enough, are from the inflected forms.

e. The W. dialect has **g**:

dreeg to drawl, **eeg** the berry of the hawthorn, **ig** (OE. **hyge** mind) mood, temper, **meeg** maw, **neeg** to gnaw, **seeg** a saw.

beg bag, **big** big, great, **breg** to brag, **brig** bridge, **brigz** a trivet, in brewing, to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, **deg** (cp. Swed. **dagga** to bedew) to besprinkle with water, **dig** to dig, **dog** dog, **dreg** to drag, **dregz** drags, **eg** (ME. **eggen**) to incite, urge on, **eg** egg, **flig** (ME. **fligge**, cp. OHG. **flukke** able to fly) fledge, **flog** to flog, fog (ME. **fogge** rank grass) after-grass, **frig** coire, frog, **gag** (ME. **gaggin**) to gag, **ie-wig** earwig, **leg** leg, **lig** to lie down, **lug** (ME. **luggen**, Swed. **lugga** to lug, drag) to pull the hair of the head, **mig** midge, **og** the wool of a sheep which has been shorn for the first time, **pig** pig, **prog** wood collected for the fire on the fifth of November, **reg** rag, **rig** back, **rigin** ridge of a house, **seg** sedge, **seg** (ME. **saggin**) to distend, **šeg** shag, **tug** (ME. **tuggen**) to tug, plod, **twig** twig, **ug** to carry, **weg** to wag.

f. The W. dialect has **dž** in : **edž** hedge, **edž** edge, **sledž-**ame(r) sledge-hammer, **wedž** wedge.

g. Palatal **ng** has become **nž**: **inž** hinge, **krinž** to cringe, **sinž** to singe.

h. **bai** (OE. **byegan**) to buy, **lee** (OE. **leegan**) to lay, **see** (OE. **secgan**) to say are from the forms without gemination.

h.

§ 316. OE. initial **h** was an aspirate like the **h** in Mod. Engl. hand. In other positions it was a spirant like the **ch** in German nach, ich.

§ 317. a. Initial **h** has disappeared in the W. dialect :

ap (ME. happen) to wrap up, **eft haft**, handle, **oil hole**, uel whole, ut hot.

loup (O.Icel. hlaupa) to jump, **luef** (OE. hlāf) loaf.

nit (OE. hnitu) nit, nut (OE. hnuntu) nut.

rin (OE. hring) ring, **riuk** (OE. hrōc) rook.

wie(r) where, **wiet** wheat, **wāf** wharf, **wen** when, **wot** what.

§ 318. b. Medial and final h have disappeared except in the examples under c, d :

eit eight, **eit** height, **feit** to fight, **reit** right, **streit** straight, **weit** weight.

brít bright, **flít** flight, **frit** fright, **lit** light, **lits** (ME. lihte) the lungs of animals, **mít** (noun) might, **nít** night, **plít** plight, **rít** wright, **sít** sight, **slít** slight, **tít** tight.

bout bought, **brout** brought, **doute(r)** daughter, **out** aught, **out** ought, **nout** naught, **rout** wrought, **sout** sought, **tout** taught, **pout** thought.

ei high, but **efe(r)** (OE. hēahfore) heifer, **nei** nigh, but **neebe(r)** (OE. nāah-gebür) neighbour.

sí to sigh, see Mayhew OE. Phonology, § 814, **soe** he saw, **þi** thigh.

fere (OE. furh, ME. furh, furwe) furrow, **ole** (OE. holh, ME. holwe) hollow.

§ 319. c. h has become f in : **draft draught**, **draft**, **kof** cough, **laf** laugh, **ruf** rough, **tof** tough, **woef** (OE. wahl sickly taste) insipid.

lafte(r) laughter, **slafter** to slaughter.

Beside þriu (OE. þurh) we have also þrif through.

§ 320. d. hs has become ks : **nekst** next, **oks** ox, **siks** six, **woks** to grow.

The French Element.

§ 321. The consonants of the French words occurring in the W. dialect have for the most part been already treated along with the other consonants. There therefore only remain to be added a few examples of **k**, **g**, **š**, **tš**, **dž**.

k.

§ 322. **k** has remained : **koul** (O. Fr. *coillir*) *to rake*, **koese** (O. Norm. Fr. *causie*) *causeway*, **keed** *card*, **kees** *case*, **keisn** (lit. *occasion*) *need, necessity*, **kontréøri** *contrary*, **kreek** *to creak*.

skaf *scaffold*, **skaflin** *scaffolding*, **skoud** *to scald*, **skeølit** *scarlet*, **kwaleti** *quality*, **kwari** *stone quarry*, **kwaiet** *quiet*, **kweet** *quart*, **keekes** *body*, **carcase**, **blerkit** *blanket*, **blerk** *blank*, **ink** *ink*, **rerk** *rank*, **avek** *havoc*, **biek** *beak*, **leelek** *lilac*, **paik** *to pick, choose, select*, **puek** *pork*, **fakt** *fact*, but pl. **faks**.

§ 323. **kl** has become **tl** in **tlāk** *clerk*, **tleem** *claim*, **trietl** *treacle*. The change of initial **kl** to **tl** is quite regular in native English words also (§ 312, 1), but **trietl** is the only example I know where medial or rather final **kl** has become **tl**.

§ 324. **kw** has become **tw** in : **twil** *quill, pen*, **twilt** *quilt, twilt to beat, thrash*.

§ 325. **wišin** *cushion*, seems to be the same as the literary word originally, but I cannot for the present offer a satisfactory explanation of the exact relation in which they stand to each other.

g.

§ 326. g has remained: *gāl* *the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye* (see Florio, s.v. *cispa* *a kind of waterish matter in sore eyes*, called of some *Gowl*. Or it is *cispi* *waterish or gowly eyes*), *galek* (O. Fr. *galc*) *left hand*, *garit* *garret*, *geetē(r)* *garter*, *gizn* *to choke*, *gol* *goal*, only used in the game of *lits en gēts* (§ 177), *grant* *grant*, *egrivéet* *to aggravate, vex*, *eegifái* *to argue, dispute*.

š.

§ 327. We regularly have š in cases where the lit. language has this sound: *fešn* *fashion*, *pešn* *passion*, *rediš* *radish*.

finiš *finish*, *vāniš* *varnish*, *blemiš* *blemish*.

branš *branch*, *eənšn* *ancient*.

dž.

§ 328. dž has generally remained in words where the lit. language has this sound. In the W. dial. dž also occurs after n: *džais* *joist*, *dželēs* *jealous*, *dželi* *jelly*, *džoul* *to knock, strike*, *džoint* *joint*, *džoem* *the side post of a door or chimney piece*, *džoenes* *jaundice*, *eədž* *age*, *damidž* *damage*, *fuədž* *forge*, *indžói* *to enjoy*, *lenwidž* *language*, *pidžn* *pigeon*, *soudže(r)* *soldier*.

indžn *engine*, *moəndž* *mange*, *moəndži* *mangy, peevish, streendž* *strange*, *tšeəndž* *change*.

§ 329. dž has become d in: *Doəd George*, *Dued Joe*, *Duez*, *Duezi Joshua*, *doi* *joy, darling*, a pet word applied to children. This last word gives a clue to the explanation of

the change, which is no doubt due to the imperfect pronunciation of children being imitated by grown-up persons. The proper names must originally have been used in addressing children only, just as *doi* still is, and then afterwards have become used for grown-up persons.

tš.

§ 330. We regularly have tš in the same words in which the literary language has it: *tšapl* *chapel*, *tšeədž* *to charge*, *tšeəmə(r)* *chamber*, *tšəri* *cherry*, *tšimli* *chimney*, *tšois* *choice*, *tšons* *chance*, *tšont* *chant*.

preitš *to preach*, *poutš* *to poach*.

ACCIDENCE.



CHAPTER VII.

NOUNS.

A. Formation of the Plural.

I. Plurals in -ez, -z, -s.

§ 331. Nouns ending in *s*, *š*, *z*, *ž* add *ez* to form the plural, as *las lass lasez*, *fees face feesez*, but *ās house has āsez*; *diš dish dišez*, *wotš watch wotšež*; *nuež nose, nuezež, saiz size saizez*; *edž hedge edžez, džudž judge džudžez*.

§ 332. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than *z*, *ž* add *z*, as: *lad lad ladz, gam game gamz, ratn rat ratnz, leeð barn leeðz, deə day deez*. But nouns ending in *-nd*, *(-r)* lose the *-d*, *(-r)* before the plural ending §§ 302, 259, as *frend friend frenz, faðe(r) father faðez*.

§ 333. Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than *s*, *š* add *s*, as *lat lath lats, kap cap kaps, dieþ death dieþs, māþ mouth māþs, wāf wharf wāfs, ruif roof ruifs*.

But nouns ending in *f* preceded by a vowel or diphthong (except *ui*) which was long in OE., and nouns originally ending in *-lf* change the *f* into *v* and add *z* in the plural, as *luēf loaf luēvz*, *naif knife naivz*, *koef calf koevz*.

2. Plurals in *-n*.

§ 334. There are only three nouns which have *-n* in the plural: *i eye īn*, *oks ox oksn*, *šū shoe šuin*.

3. Plural in *-r*.

§ 335. The only example of this class is *tſilde(r)* *children*. In the singular we use *bān*, the plural of which is *bānz*, and is in more general use than *tſilde(r)*.

4. Plurals with umlaut.

§ 336. These are: *fuit foot fit*, *guis goose gīs*, *lās louse lais*, *man man men*, *mās mouse mais*, *tuiþ tooth tīþ*, *wumēn woman wimin*.

5. Singular and Plural alike.

§ 337. *as ash, ashes, flš fish, fishes, ſip sheep*.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure, and number, when preceded by a cardinal numeral, as *iz net bin sīn fe ten jie(r) he has not been seen for ten years*, but its *jiez sin e we sīn it's years since he was seen*, and similarly with *munþ month*, *wik week*. *þri mail þre Koevle three miles from Calverley*, but *mailz þre ðie(r) miles from there*, and similarly for *inš inch*, *fuit foot*, *jied yard*, *eēke(r) acre*, etc. *ten pund e meit ten pounds of meat*, cp. lit. Engl. *a ten-pound note*, but *ðe we punz ont weested there were pounds of it wasted*, and similarly with *āns ounce*, *stuen stone*, *undēd weit hundred weight*, etc. *tū kweet et best two quarts of the best (ale)*, *siks galn six gallons*, *nain ſilin nine shillings*, etc. *foue skue(r) four scores*, but *skuez on em scores of them*, etc.

6. Miscellaneous.

§ 338. Some nouns are only used in the plural as: *kruds curds, laps a kind of woollen waste made in spinning, lits lungs of animals, loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, mezlz measles, noilz the short hairs taken out of the wool by the combing machine, roidz clearings (of a wood), now only used in the phrase West Roidz West Royds, siðez scissors, spərinz banns of marriage, tenz tongs, trūzəz trousers.* Others have a different meaning in the singular and the plural, as *brig bridge pl. brigs bridges, a trivet to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, green grain greenz malt which has been used in brewing beer, grund ground grunz sediment.*

Nouns with double plural endings are rare, but we have them in : *beləsəz bellows, galesez braces, stepsez steps.*

In speaking of cows the form *bies* is generally used, as *ā moni bies ejə nā? how many cows (lit. beasts) have you now?*

poridž porridge, always, and broþ broth, frequently, require the plural form of the verb as ðem poridž worent ez guid ez ðe out tə (e) bīn, lit. them porridge were not as good as they ought to have been.

B. Formation of the Genitive Case.

§ 339. The sign of the genitive both singular and plural is generally omitted when one noun qualifies another ; the two nouns thus forming a kind of compound, as *ðemz mi faðe buits those are my father's boots ; but ðem buits e mi faðez those boots are my father's, tlad faðe buits the boy's father's boots, but tbuits e tlad faðez the boots of the boy's*

father, ðem bānz (never bānez) muðe(r) those children's mother.

When the genitive is not followed by another noun, the gen. singular and plural have the same form as the nom. plural. The only exceptions are that nouns which end in -vz in the plural have -fs in the gen. singular, **waifs** *wife's*, and the two umlaut-plurals **men**, **wimin** have sing. **manz**, **wumenz**, plural **menz**, **wiminz**.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADJECTIVES.

1. The Articles.

§ 340. The indefinite article *e a*, *en an*, differs from lit. Engl. in so far that *e* may be used before both vowels and consonants. It is equally right to say : *av etn e* or *en apl I have eaten an apple.* In *nidiet idiot* and *noreišn row, disturbance*, the initial *n* has come from the indef. article, *čis nidiet this idiot, wots tmiénin e čis noreišn?* *what is the meaning of this (lit. oration) row?* Cp. lit. Engl. *newt* for *ewt*. Observe the phrase : *a wer i sitš en e steet I was in such (an) a state.*

§ 341. The definite article *t the* is generally attached to the following word, as *tman the man, tkoilz the coals, tak tguid enz take the good ones, tloed e tmane(r) the lord of the manor, a duent noe wot tman did wit I don't know what the man did with it, a no(e) ue tman wo(r) I know who the man was.*

When the word following the definite article begins with *t* or *d*, the only trace of the article is that *t* and *d* become suspended or popularly expressed lengthened. We make a clear distinction between *teebl table* and *t'eebl the table, dlium gloom* and *d'lium the gloom.*

Cp. the similar distinction between *eit eight*, and *eit' eighth*.

We however always use *ðe* before *loed* when it means *God*, as *ðez nuebdi bed ðe loed en mi, noez wot iv ed te baid* *there is nobody but the Lord and myself, know what I have had to suffer.* *ðe* (never *t*) is also used after *ue who, wot what*, in such expressions as: *ue ðe divl did ðat? who the devil did that? wot ðe erment duz e wont? what the hangment does he want? a duent noe wot ðe erment i did wit I don't know what the hangment he did with it.*

NOTE.—In order to obtain information on this difference in the use of *t* and *ðe* in some other Yorkshire dialect, I wrote to Mr. Bradley, the Joint Editor of the New English Dictionary, who is thoroughly conversant with the Sheffield dialect; and from his kind communication I learn that the distinction in the Sheffield dialect is practically the same as in my own. I venture to quote the following extract from his letter, which will be found interesting and instructive.—‘*t’ lord o’ t’ manor*—(decidedly). When “Lord” means God, the association of liturgical and Bible reading generally cause the full pronunciation (*ðe*) to be used. But I have, though rarely, heard *t’ Lord*, in rather off-hand, irreverent speech; and “Lord knows” without any article at all is common enough. A don’t know what *t’ man* did wi’ it—(certainly not *ðe man*, nor man without article). What the hangment, What the devil, What the plague, etc.—(always *ðe*, never *t* or omitted). A know who *t’ man* wor—(certainly not *ðe*, nor omitted).’

2. Comparison of Adjectives.

§ 342. The comparative is formed by adding *-e(r)* and the superlative by adding *-ist* to the positive. This rule also holds good for familiar adjectives of two or more syllables. But unfamiliar adjectives of more than one syllable sometimes form the comparative and superlative by prefixing *muē(r)*, *muēst*.

fāe(r) far, fāre(r), farist; jun young, june(r), junist or junst; uelsm wholesome, uelsm-e(r), uelsm-ist; biutifl beautiful, biutifl-er, biutifl-ist.

§ 343. The following adjectives are compared irregularly as in lit. Engl. :

<i>bad bad</i>		
<i>il ill</i>	{	wāe(r)
<i>guid good</i>		bete(r)
<i>lat late</i>		late(r)
<i>litl little</i>		les
<i>moni many</i>	{	muē(r)
<i>mits much</i>	{	
<i>niē(r) near</i>		niere(r)
		wāst
		best
		latist, last
		liest
		muēst
		nierist, nekst

NOTE.—The use of vari before adjectives is the same as in lit. Engl.: vari guid *very good*. But instead of using vari we sometimes repeat the adjective with ez as : guid ez guid *very good*, dāk ez dāk *very dark*.

3. Numerals.

§ 344. a. Cardinal and ordinal numerals.

<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Ordinal.</i>
<i>wun one</i>	fēst
<i>tū two</i>	seknd
<i>þri three</i>	þēd
<i>fouē(r) four</i>	fouēt
<i>faiv five</i>	fift
<i>siks six</i>	sikst
<i>sevm seven</i>	sevnt
<i>eit eight</i>	eit'
<i>nain nine</i>	naint
<i>ten ten</i>	tent
<i>(e)levm eleven</i>	(e)levnt
<i>twelv twelve</i>	twelft
<i>þētīn thirteen</i>	þētīnt
<i>fouētīn fourteen</i>	fouētīnt

<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Ordinal.</i>
fiftin <i>fifteen</i>	fiftint
sikstín <i>sixteen</i>	sikstint
sevntin <i>seventeen</i>	sevntint
eitín <i>eighteen</i>	eitint
naintin <i>nineteen</i>	naintint
twenti <i>twenty</i>	twentit
twenti wun <i>twenty-one</i>	twenti fēst
twenti tū <i>twenty-two</i>	twenti seknd
pēti <i>thirty</i>	pētit
foti <i>forty</i>	fotit
fifti <i>fifty</i>	fiftit
siksti <i>sixty</i>	sikstít
sevnti <i>seventy</i>	sevntit
eiti <i>eighty</i>	eitit
nainti <i>ninety</i>	naintit
undēd <i>hundred</i>	undet
pāzn <i>thousand</i>	pāznt

§ 345. The old form *uen* *one* is still retained in the phrase *tuen* *the one of two*, as *tuen on em est*, lit. *the one of them has it*, i. e. *one of the two has it*. The unaccented form is *en* or rather vocalic *n*, as *it wer e guidn* *it was a good one*. We may also note *wun-ā* *somehow*, *wun-ā er enuðe(r)* *somehow or other*.

On the suspended *t'* in *eit' eighth*, see §§ 341, 306.

m for older *n* (§ 270) is regularly heard in *sevm*, (*e)levm*; but in *sevnt*, (*e)levnt*, *sevntin*, etc., *m* for older *n* is seldom, if ever, heard.

All the ordinals, except *seknd* and *pēd*, end in *t*. Most of these are, of course, new formations made after the analogy of *fēst*, *fift*, *sikst*, *twelft* which had *t* in OE. See § 309. In a similar manner the lit. Engl. ordinals *fifth*,

sixth, twelfth, and all those ending in *-nth* are new formations made after the analogy of such forms as *fourth*, OE. *fēowerða*.

§ 346. In playing at games, e. g. *marbles* *toez*, boys have the following ordinals, denoting the order in which each is to begin the game. The boy who calls out *fēri* has the first turn. The order is *fēri first, seki second, þēdi third, lari last*.

NOTE.—*toe* is used for a marble of any kind. When made of marble or alabaster it is called *ə wait ali*, if streaked with red veins *ə bluid ali*; when of glass *ə glas ali*; when made of powdered stone *ə stueni*; when made of clay *ə pot donek*.

§ 347. b. Fractional numerals: *kweete(r) quarter*, *ə fouēt or wun peet āt ə fouē(r) a fourth*, *ə þēd or wun peet āt ə pri a third*, and similarly *tū þēdz or tū peets āt ə pri two thirds*, *oef half*, as *ə oef pund, oef pund, or oef ə pund half a pound, oepni halfpenny, oepel halfpennyworth*.

§ 348. c. Multiplicatives: *simpl simple, dubl double, tribl, þribl threefold, fouē-foud fourfold, wuns once, twais twice, þri taimz three times*.

§ 349. d. Numerals in composition: *ə tūþri lit. a two (or) three, a few, as ler əm ev ə tūþri let them have a few, tupms two pence, fipms fivepence, þrēpms three pence, etc.*

CHAPTER IX.

PRONOUNS.

1. Personal.

§ 350.

FIRST PERSON.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom. ai, (a, i)	wī, (wi, we)
Obj. mī, (mə)	uz, (əz, s)

SECOND PERSON.

Nom. ðā, tā, (ða, ta, te)	jī, (ji, jə)
Obj. ðī, (ðə)	jī, (jə)

THIRD PERSON.

Singular.

<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom. ī, (i, e)	it, (t)	šū, (šu, še)
Obj. im	it, (t)	ē(r), (ə(r)).

Plural.

Nom. ðee, (ðe, ðə)
Obj. ðem, (əm, m).

The weak forms are in parentheses. They are far more frequently employed than the strong ones; the latter are only used to express special emphasis.

The weak form *i I* is older than *a*, it arose from the shortening of *i* before the latter became *ai*, whereas *a* is the regular weak form of *ai*, cp. the weak forms *abed* *yes but*, *wol until*, *wa why*, beside the strong forms *aibed*, *wail* (noun) *while*, *wai*. Examples of the first person are :

muni gue wi je? must *I go with you?* *sali et temoen?* shall *I have it to-morrow?* if *id nobed e bit e bras*, a *wodnt* (or *ad net*) *diu sitš wāk* if *I had only a little brass* (*money*), *I would not do such work*, *al kum en sī je*, *wen i ger e bit e taim* *I will come and see you, when I get a bit of time*, as *e dun inā* *I shall have done presently*, a *fan em i tloin* *I found them in the lane*, *gi m(e) e feu* give me a few, *ðe teld me ða wer ie(r)* they told me (that) thou wast here. *wi or we bān dān til* we are going down the hill, *sud we len im it?* should we lend him it? *ðel or ðel stop wol we kum* they will stop until (while) we come. lets as *im let us or me ask him*, *še þenkþ ez fe tpeenz wid teen wit* she thanked us for the pains we had taken with it. The *z* in the strong form *uz* is never voiceless as it is in lit. Engl. The weak form *s* is only used when it is attached enclitically to a preceding voiceless consonant.

The strong form *tā* and the weak forms *ta*, *tē* can only be used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences, as *wil tā weš it?* *wilt thou wash it?* *wite len met?* *wilt thou leñd me it?* *wiæs tē kum þriu?* (lit. where hast thou come through) *where do you come from?* *kan tē diut bi ðisen?* *canst thou do it by thyself?* *wen tē redi wil send ðet* when thou art ready we will send thee it. as or asl *gi ðe (ə) oepni* if *tē elps me*, *I shall give thee a halfpenny if thou helpest me*, *ðat nuen se wil es tē wo(r)* thou art not so well

as thou wast, þal (never *tal* or *tel*) *find im et iz wāk thou*
wilt find him at his work. At first sight one might be inclined to assume that the forms *tā*, *tē* have arisen from assimilation with verbal forms ending in *-t*, e. g. *āt* (§ 396) *art*, *out* (§ 394) *oughtest*, *dāst* (frequently *dās* § 390) *durst*; but these are the three solitary instances in which the second person singular ends in *-t* where assimilation could take place. See the personal endings (§ 385). It is far more probable that the forms have arisen from their unaccented position in the sentence. If this is right then the def. art. *t* has a similar origin. However the *t* of the article arose, I certainly do not believe that it is a clipped form of *þat that*, which is regularly used as a demonstrative (§ 354), but never as a rel. pronoun or conjunction; the latter are expressed by *et* (§§ 356, 401). *am bān tē tak ðe wi mē* *I am going to take thee with me.* *ji or je sed et im it ren* *you said that I am in the wrong, wot did je see tul im?* *what did you say to him? wil je sam mē ðem tluez up?* *will you pick up those clothes for me? jēv etn oēl tmeit sue* *jel e tē diu bāt nā wol setēdē* *you have eaten all the meat so you will have to do without until Saturday, if je (not ji) sī mi faðe(r), as im tē kum uēm* *if you see my father, ask him to come home, wi soe je i tmiln we saw you in the mill.* The old objective form of the second person plural has entirely died out; cp. on the other hand the disappearance in Modern English of the old nom. *ye* except in liturgical and the higher literary language. The pronoun of the second person singular is still extensively used, but it is not so general now as it was twenty years ago. When I was a lad the following was the rule: *þā* was used in every case except that *jī* was used (1) in addressing strangers, especially grown-up people, or as a mark of respect to masters and old people; (2) children in addressing their

parents ; (3) people who had made each other's acquaintance after they had grown up usually employed *jī* in speaking to each other.

The masc. of the third person singular is the only pronoun which has not at least two forms for the obj. case. *im* is no doubt used as a weak form so as to prevent confusion with the obj. case of the plural. *t* is attached to the preceding word. The nominative of the feminine presents great difficulties. Dr. Sweet in his New English Grammar (§ 1068) gives the following explanation for the lit. Engl. form *she* : the old demonstrative *sēo* became *shō* through the intermediate stage *seō(sjoo)*, then *shō* became contaminated with the old personal pronoun *hēo*, which gave rise to the form *shēo* which would regularly become *she* in Mod. English. This explanation may or may not be right for the lit. language, but a form *shēo* could not possibly become *šū*, but only *ši* in the W. dial. as also in the other dialects round about Windhill ; ep. the Dialect Tests in Ellis, EEPr. v. On the other hand, the uncontaminated form *shō* would not become *šū* but *šiu* in the modern dialect, ep. *tiu too*, *diu do*, etc. § 164 c ; unless we may assume, which I do not believe is the case, that the one solitary example (*šū shoe*, but pl. *šuin* §§ 163-4 c) containing *ū* from older *ō* has not been borrowed from the lit. language. On the various origins of W. *ū* see § 40. For the present the form *šū she* still remains a riddle. The strong form *ðem* is from OE. *ðām* (*ðām*), the dat. plural of the demonstrative pronoun *sē*, *sēo*, *ðæt*, whereas the weak forms *əm*, *m* are from OE. *heom*, the dat. plural of the personal pronoun *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*.

Examples of the third person are: *iz bīn on trant oel twik* *he has been on the spree all the week*, *eze fotſt ðat flik e beekn?* *has he fetched that flitch of bacon?* *i ied it wen e*

wér et jár ás *he heard it when he was at your house*, tiznt main it is not mine, eze funt? *has he found it?* gimet give me it, estet? *hast thou it?* wots e dun wit? *what has he done with it?* šuz in e mad ig *she is in a bad temper*, šu or še oles wešez e tmundé *she always washes (the clothes) on the Monday*, eše or es še sared tpigz? *has she served the pigs?* stop wol še kumz stop until she comes, ūd or ūd e gín me ten šilin fot *they would have given me ten shillings for it*, wil ūe suin bi is(r)? *will they soon be here?* ūel suin bi ier if ūe kum reit uem *they will soon be here if they come straight (right) home*, al sel jem *I will sell you them*, kan je diu bāt em? *can you do without them?*

It is hardly possible to give a very clearly defined and accurate rule for the use of the weak nominative forms:

a, wi; ji; i; šu; ūe beside
i, we; je; e; še; ūe.

The former set is mostly used in making direct assertions, and the latter in interrogative and subordinate sentences. i *I* and e *he* are never used in making direct assertions, but the other pairs are, and when the one form and when the other is used, seems to depend upon sentence rhythm.

The obj. case of all persons is often used reflexively, as al weš me nā *I will wash myself now*, am džust bān te don me *I am just going to dress myself*, i leed im dān i tfild he lay down in the field, kum fored lad en sit ūe dān en al set tketl on *come forward lad and sit (thee) down and I will set the kettle on (and make some tea)*.

We always use the obj. case where in refined lit. Engl. the nom. is used:

1. After the substantive verb, as its mī, þī, ū(r), im, uz, ūm, ūem, lit. *it is me, thee, her, him, us, you, them*. Note ūemz em et i want those are the ones that *I want*.

2. When the verb refers to different persons, as im en mi went *he and I went*, Bil en imz guen dān truēd *Bill and he have gone down the road*, uz en ðem wē tegeðer oēl d'ee we and they were together all the day.

3. When the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the predicate by a subordinate sentence, as : im et did ðat out te en he who did that ought to be hanged, uz ets dun se mitš for im me gue te d'ogz fer out i keez we who have done so much for him may go to the dogs for aught he cares.

2. Possessive.

§ 351. a. Conjoint: mai, (mi) *my*; āe(r), (wē(r)) *our*; ðai, (ði) *thy*; jāe(r), (jē(r)) *your*; iz, is *his*; it its, ē(r), (ə(r)) *her*, ðee(r), (ðe(r)) *their*.

The weak forms are in parentheses. As in the personal pronouns so also here the weak forms are far more frequently used than the strong ones. mi, ði, ðe(r) are from the Middle English weak forms mi, ði, ðer, and not Modern weakenings of the strong forms ; otherwise we should have had ma, ða for our mi, ði, see § 350. wē(r) has been formed from wē after the analogy of jē ye, jē(r), thus jē : jē(r) :: wē : wē(r). iz is used before vowels and voiced consonants and is before voiceless consonants, as iz ās *his house*, iz oēn *his own*, iz muðe(r) *his mother*, is koit *his coat*, is faðe(r) *his father*, este sīn it faðe(r)? *hast thou seen its (=the child's) father?* it ied wāks *its head aches*.

§ 352. b. Absolute : main *mine*, āz *ours*, ðain *thine*, jāz *yours*, iz *his*, its *its*, ēz *hers*, ðeez *theirs*.

3. Reflexive.

§ 353.

FIRST PERSON.

Singular.

misen

misel

miseln

Plural.

wesen

wəsenz

wesel

weseln

SECOND PERSON.

ðisen

ðisel

ðiseln

jəsen

jəsenz

jesel

jəseln

THIRD PERSON.

*Singular.**Masc.*

i(s)sen

i(s)sel

i(s)seln

Neut.

itsen

itsel

itseln

Fem.

esen

esel

eseln

Plural.

ðesen

ðesenz

ðesel

ðeseln

The stress is always on the second syllable. When these pronouns are used emphatically the stress on the second syllable is of course stronger than when they are used reflexively. All the forms -sel, -seln, -sen are often heard without any distinction in meaning.

Such a variety of forms must be quite modern, and is probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects. The *-sen*-forms are far more common than either of the other two. In the Eastern North Midland dialects, to which Windhill belongs (Ellis, EEPr. v. pp. 364-408), I find the following forms: *-seln* at Huddersfield and Halifax; *-sen* at Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield. In this division of dialects no *-self*-forms seem to be known.

In order to find out the areas of the *-sel*, *-seln*, and *-sen*-forms I have carefully examined all the classified word-lists and comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v., with the following results. *-sel* is the only form that occurs in all the North Northern, West Northern, and East Northern dialects, except at Holderness (S.E. Yorkshire) and South Ainsty, where we find *-sen*. The North North Midland, West North Midland, and South North Midland dialects have only *-sel*. The Border Midland dialects, which embrace the county of Lincolnshire, have only the *-sen*-form. The *-sen*-form does not seem to occur south of Lincolnshire. *-self* is regularly found without exception in all the Eastern dialects. The Mid Southern dialects have *-self*, *-zelf*, except at Much Cowarne (nine miles N.E. of Hereford) we find *-sel* and in Western Dorset *-zel*. The North Border Southern, Mid Border Southern, and South Border Southern dialects have only *-self*. In the East Southern dialects, which embrace almost the whole of Kent, with East Sussex, examples are wanting except that *-saaf*, pl. *-saavz* occurs at Faversham (eight miles W.N.W. of Canterbury). The Northern West Southern dialects regularly have *-zel*. In the Southern West Southern dialects all three forms, *-sel*, *-zel*, and *-self*, occur. For the Western West Southern dialects examples are wanting.

The South Western dialects seem to have *-self*, but more examples are wanting to be certain, as only one example of the reflexive occurs in this division, viz. at Docklow (five miles E. S. E. of Leominster). For the North Western dialects there is only one example given in Ellis, viz. *-sel* for Pulverbach (seven miles S.W. of Shrewsbury).

wesen, etc. have been formed from the weak possessive *we(r) our*, which is itself a new formation, § 351. There is no difference in meaning or usage between *wesen* and *wesenz*, *ðesen* and *dəsenz*. *jesen* is used for the sing. and plural *yourself, yourselves*, but *jesenz* *yourselfs* has always a plural meaning.

The simplex *self* occurs in the dialect, as *ə tself seem dee on the self same day*.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 354.

Sing.	<i>ðis this</i>	<i>ðat that</i>	<i>jon yon.</i>
Plural.	<i>ðiez these</i>	<i>ðem those</i>	<i>jon yon.</i>

ðis and *ðiez* are often followed by *ie(r) here*, and *ðat*, *ðem* by *ðie(r) there*, as *ðis ier ās wonts ə lot ə tlienin this house wants a lot of cleaning, dus te laik ðiez ie(r)? dost thou like these? a kānt eit ðat ðie meit I can't eat that meat, i ga mə ðat ðie koit he gave me that coat, ðem ðier aplz kost tupms those apples cost twopence, ðemz vari guid bēd ðiez ez or ə bete(r) those are very good but these are better.*

ðem is the only word used for *those*, a form *ðuez* would be quite foreign to the dialect.

5. Interrogative.

§ 355.

*Masc. and Fem.**Neut.*Nom., Obj. *ue who* *wot what, witš which.*Gen. *uez whose.*

uem whom is never used in the W. dialect. Beside *wot* we have also *wor*, on which see § 290.

6. Relative.

§ 356. The relative pronoun is expressed either by *et* for all genders and numbers, or by *ue* for the masc. and fem., *wot* for the neuter. *et* is invariably used when the antecedent is expressed; in other cases we always use *ue*, *wot*. Thus: *im et sed suez rex he who said so is wrong*, *tman et i soe jestede the man whom I saw yesterday*, *tlas et i gav e pund e aplz tul ez etn em oel the lass to whom I gave a pound of apples has eaten them all*, *tkoilz et te bout dān i Windil e vari guid the coals which thou boughtest down in Windhill are very good*, *did je sī ðem et did it? did you see those who did it?* *ðem men et te so(e) i trued wer on trant those men whom thou sawest in the road were on the spree.*

a no(e) uez dunt I know who has done it, we no(e) uez it iz we know whose it is, a noe wot te sez I know what thou sayest, a ken or kn ges ue ðaz bīn wi I can guess with whom thou hast been, a duent beliv wot e sez I don't believe what he says; but a duent beliv e wēd (et) i sez I don't believe a word (that) he says.

The obj. case of *et*, but never of *ue*, *wot*, is often omitted: *tman i soe the man (whom) I saw, tkoilz e bout the coals (which) he bought.*

et is of Norse origin and was originally only used as a conjunction with the meaning of *that*. But already in Old Icelandic it came to be used both as a relative pronoun and conjunction just as it still is in the W. dialect: *a no(ə) et im i tgeet I know that I am in the way*. See Noreen, Altisländische und altnordische Grammatik, § 402. **et** occurs as a rel. pronoun in the Northern English dialects so early as the thirteenth century, see J. A. H. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 194.

It may be useful to note here that **ðat** is never used in the dialect either as a rel. pronoun or as a conjunction.

7. Indefinite.

§ 357.

sum *some*, **sumdi** *somebody*, **sumet** (lit. *somewhat*) *something, anything*.

out *aught, nout naught, nougth*.

inif, pl. **iniu** *enough*: **gim(ə) e feu**, **nee ðaz ed iniu** *give me a few, no thou hast had enough, eje briēd inif?* *have you enough bread?*

feu *few, ivri every, oel all, els else, sitš such, uðe(r) other*.

oeðe(r) (OE. *āwðer*) *either, noeðe(r)* (OE. *nāwðer*) *neither*.

Cp. § 123 and see Sievers, OE. Grammar, §§ 346, 348.

oni (OE. *ānig*) *any, onibodi anybody, moni* (OE. *monig, manig*) *many*. The **o** in **oni** is due to the influence of the **o** in **moni**. The following question would be quite unintelligible to anyone but a North countryman: **ez or ez oni on je oni on je?** *inquired a man of a company of persons, after asking two or three of them individually for a match, lit. has any on you any on you? i. e. has any of you got one?*

tuen (lit. *the one*) *one of two or more: tuen on jøz dunt*

one of you has done it. Strong form **wun** (nom.), weak form **ən** (obj.) *one*, pl. **ənz** *ones*, **wun ənuðə(r)** *one another*, **nue**, weak form **ne** *no*, **nuebdi** *nobody*; **nuen** *none* has no weak form. **nuen** is often used in the place of **net:** am **nuen bān** *I am not going*, **ðat nuen tfuil et tə liuks** *you are not the fool you look to be.*

u(ə)-ive(r) *whoever*, **wotivə(r)** or **tšiuz-wot** (lit. *choose-what*) *whatever.*

CHAPTER X.

VERBS.

§ 358. The verbs are divided into two great classes:—Strong and Weak—according to the formation of the preterite and past participle. Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

§ 359. The strong verbs form their preterite by means of ablaut. In order to facilitate the use of the book for philologists I have sub-divided them into seven classes and have adopted the order given in Sievers' Old English Grammar, §§ 382–97.

A great many verbs which were strong in OE. are now weak in the dialect; on the other hand a few, which were originally weak, have become strong. The lists contain all the strong verbs in general use. When two forms of the preterite and past participle are in existence, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets. Some verbs, which now usually have a weak preterite, still retain the old strong past participle, e. g. *fesēen* *forsaken*, *fretn* beside *frieted* *fretted*, *mourned*.

There is only one form for the singular and plural of the preterite just as in lit. Engl. The present and

the past participle of all classes have, as a rule, been regularly developed from their corresponding OE. forms. But the preterite of some classes, e. g. the whole of the first and second, are new formations made after the analogy of the pret. of the fourth and partly the fifth classes. Some few verbs have passed over from one class into another. All these points will be discussed in their proper places.

§ 360. The preterite and the past participle of weak verbs end in -ed, -d, -t. See §§ 380-3. Many verbs, originally weak, have both a strong and a weak past participle. See §§ 380-3.

A. Strong Verbs.

§ 361.

CLASS I.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. i		ā	i	i
W. ai		ee		i
aid <i>hide</i>		eed		idn
baid <i>endure</i>		beed		bidn
bait <i>bite</i>		beet		bitn
daiv <i>dive</i>		deev		divm
dlaid <i>glide</i>		dleed		dlidn
draiv <i>drive</i>		dreev		drivm
kontraiv <i>contrive</i>		kontreev		kontrivm
raid <i>ride</i>		reed		ridn
rait <i>write</i>		reet		ritn
raiv <i>tear</i>		reev		rivm
raiz <i>rise</i>		reez		rizn
slaid <i>slide</i>		sleed		slidn
straid <i>stride</i>		streed		stridn
straik <i>strike</i>		streek		strukn
straiv <i>strive</i>		streev		strivm

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
šain <i>shine</i>	šeən	šaɪnd	
šait <i>cacare</i>	šeət	šitn	
þraiv <i>thrive</i>	þreev	þrivm	

§ 362. The pret. of all verbs of this class is a new formation. The eə can arise neither from the OE. singular nor plural form. From the former we should have had ue (§ 122) and from the latter i (§ 89). The only classes of verbs which regularly have eə in the pret. are the fourth (§ 371) and part of the fifth (§ 372). To merely say that the pret. of Class I has been formed after the analogy of Class IV and part of Class V would be avoiding the real difficulty, which consists in giving a satisfactory reason why they should have had such an influence, seeing that they had no forms in common with Class I in OE. One might perhaps be inclined to think that the identity of the vowel in a pp. like ȝifenn *given* (Ormulum, i. 71) with that in a pp. like risenn *risen* (Ormulum, ii. 47) may have given rise to the new formation. But that would not do. In the dialect the pret. of gi(v) is ga(v)=Ormulum ȝaff, gaff, ii. 16. At present I cannot even suggest a satisfactory explanation.

§ 363. The pp. of šain is always weak, and I have also occasionally heard a weak pret. šaɪnd. For the pret. of straik I have often heard striuk, strak, the latter of which seems to be a shortening of the Northern ME. form strāk; the pp. of this verb corresponds to the early Mod. Engl. lit. form struknen.

§ 364. aid (OE. hýdan) and daiv (OE. dýfan) were weak in OE. raiv (O. Icel. rífa) and þraiv (O. Icel. þrífa) are of Norse origin. straiv (O. Fr. estriver) was already strong in ME. kontraiv must be a late borrowing from

lit. Engl., the ME. form **controuen** (**u = v**) from O. Fr. **controver** would not have become **kontraiv** in the W. dialect.

CLASS II.

§ 365.

	<i>Infn.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. ēo	ēa	u	o	
W. ī		ee	o	
iu (§ 187)		ee	o	
ī		eu	ou	
frīz <i>freeze</i>		freez	frozn	
tliūv <i>cleave, split</i>		tleev	tlov̄m	
tšiuz <i>choose</i>		tšeəz	tšozn	
flī <i>fly</i>		fleu	floun	

§ 366. All the other verbs, which formerly belonged to this class, have become weak.

OE. cēasan would regularly have become *tšiz (§ 187) in the dialect. tšiuz seems to be an early borrowing of the ME. West Midland form chüsen, which would regularly become tšiuz in the dialect.

The ee in the pret. is not regularly developed from OE. ēa, which has become ie (§ 179), but is due to the analogy of such verbs as weev *wove*, need *kneaded*. Just as we have the pp. wovm, nodn, pret. weev, need, so to the pp. frozn, tlov̄m, tšozn there has been formed a new preterite freez, tleev, tšeəz.

CLASS III.

§ 367. This class had in OE. four sub-divisions :

1. Verbs having a medial nasal + a consonant.

2. „ „ l + „

3. „ „ r or h + „

4. When the stem vowel was followed by two consonants other than a nasal, l, r, or h + a consonant. Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 386–9.

All verbs originally belonging to 2. have become weak. The same also applies to sub-divisions 3. and 4. with the exception of *feit fight*, and *brust burst*.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
1. OE. i	o (a)	u ·	u
W. i	a		u
i	e (§ 59)		u
begin begin	began		begun
spin spin	span		spun
swim swim	swom § 58 (swam)		swum
win win	wan (won)		wun
bind bind	ban		bun
find find	fan		fun
wind wind	wan (won)		wun
run run	ran		run
2. briñ bring	bren		brun
driñ reproach, revile	der		dur
fliñ throw	flen		flur
iriñ hang	er		ur
riniñ wring	ren		run
riñ ring	ren		run
siñ sing	sen		sun
slin sling	slen		slun
sprin spring	spreñ		sprun
stiñ sting	stern		stun
striñ string	stren		strun
swin swing	swen		swun
tliñ cling	tler		tlur
drink drink	drenk		druk

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
sink <i>sink</i>	senk		sukn̥
slink <i>slink</i>	slenk		slukn̥
stink <i>stink</i>	sterk		stukn̥
šrink <i>shrink</i>	šrenk		šrukñ
<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
3. W. Sax. eo	ea	u	o
O. North. e	æ	u	o
W. ei (§ 87)		ee	o
feit <i>fight</i>		feet	fotn̥
<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
4. OE. e	æ	u	o
W. u		a	u
brust <i>burst</i>		brast	brusn̥
þrust <i>thrust</i>		þrast	þrusn̥

§ 368. On the present form **run**, see Sweet NE. Gr. § 1382. The pret. and pp. **ban**, **fan**, **wan** and **bun**, **fun**, **wun** are very widely spread in the Midland and Northern dialects, see the Word-lists in Ellis, EEPr. v. The pret. **bren** and pp. **brun** are no doubt new formations after the analogy of forms like **sen**, **sun**; the weak pret. and pp. **brout** is also much used, but is not so common as the strong forms. **in** (ME. **hengen**, O. Icel. **hengja**) and **rin** (OE. (**h**)**ringan**) were originally weak verbs. **din** (O. Icel. **dengja**), **fin** (O. Icel. **fiengja**), **slin** (O. Icel. **slöngva**) are of Norse origin. **striñ** seems to be quite a modern formation from the noun.

The pp. of verbs whose stem ends in **nk** regularly lose the medial guttural **n** in the W. dialect. I have assumed in the Phonology (§ 274) that **n** has disappeared through assimilation before the following **kñ** in the pp. of these verbs. This is possible and not at all improbable; but we must not exclude the possibility that some of these pp. may be

of Norse origin, e.g. *drukn* (O. Icel. *drukkenn*), *sukn* (O. Icel. *sokkenn*), and that the remaining *nk*-verbs may have followed the analogy of these. This is a point well worth investigating, but of the five verbs ending in *-nk* in the present and preterite, Ellis has unfortunately only the pp. of *drink*, and I have accordingly read through all his Word-lists, Dialect tests, and Comparative Specimens to see how far the form without medial *n* in the pp. extends. The following is the result: The medial *n* is retained in all the Eastern, Western, and Southern dialects, with the exception of South Devon (Ellis, p. 163), which is probably a mistake on the part of Dr. Ellis' informant. All the Border Midland, Southern, North Midland, Western Mid Midland, Eastern Mid Midland, East Mid Midland, Western South Midland, Eastern South Midland, Northern North Midland, and Western North Midland dialects have medial *n* except at Colne Valley and at Burnley, where double forms—without and with medial *n*—seem to occur (pp. 334 and 351). In the Eastern North Midland division to which my own dialect belongs the form without medial *n* is found at Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury which have *drufen*, at Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Rotherham, Elland, and Calverley where the nasal has disappeared before the following *k*; but medial *n* occurs at Barnsley, Sheffield, and Marsden (seven miles S. W. of Huddersfield). In the East Northern division, Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washam River district, South Cleveland, North East Coast, Danby and Skelton in Cleveland, and Whitby, all have the form without medial *n*, but Market Weighton, Holderness, Malton, Pickering, and The Moors, Sutton and Goole retain the medial guttural nasal. All the West Northern dialects—for which there are a great number of examples in Ellis—lose the

medial *n* except at Upper Swaledale. The same is also the case for the North Northern dialects, except that at Newcastle-on-Tyne the medial *n* seems to exist (Ellis, p. 647). For the Lowland division of English dialect districts in Scotland only forms without medial *n* are registered. It is however important to note that Dr. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, has pp. *drunk* beside *drukken*, and only *slunk*, *stunk*, *sunk*, *schrunk* (*scrynkit*). This would certainly seem to favour the idea that our *drukn* is of Norse origin, and that the pp. of the four other verbs have been formed after the analogy of it.

In *feet fought* the vowel of the singular seems to have been carried over to the plural at an early period. The latter form then became generalized. The short *o* in the pp. is quite regular (§ 100).

On the forms *brust*, *brast*, *brusn* see Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1354, and on *þrust* (ME. *þrusten*, *þrusten*, O. Icel. *þrýsta*) see loc. cit. § 1348.

CLASS IV.

§ 369.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
W. Sax. <i>e</i>	æ	æ	o
O. North. <i>e</i>	æ	ē	o
1. W. <i>ei</i> (§ 87) <i>steil steal</i>	ee (§ 70) steel	ee (§ 70) steel	ou (§ 103) stoun
2. W. <i>ie</i> (§ 75) <i>biə(r) bear</i> <i>swiə(r) swear</i> <i>šiə(r) shear</i> <i>wiə(r) wear</i>	ee bəe(r) swee(r) šee(r) wee(r)	ee bəe(r) swee(r) šee(r) wee(r)	oe (§ 104a) boən swoən šoən woən
3. W. <i>e</i> (§ 88) <i>brek break</i>	a brak	a brak	o brokn

§ 370. To this class also belongs **kum** (OE. *cuman*) *come*, **kom** (*kam*), **kum** (*kumd*).

§ 371. **wiē(r)** (OE. *werian*) was originally a weak verb, but has become strong after the analogy of **biē(r)**, **šiē(r)**. Similarly **swiē(r)** (OE. *swerian*, pret. sing. *swōr*) has passed over from the sixth class into this.

The **ee** in the preterite is due to levelling. The vowel of the pret. singular of strong verbs was often extended to the plural already in ME. Then this **a** being in an open syllable became lengthened and was afterwards levelled out into the singular; so that the preterites with **ee** in this and the fifth class are really generalized plural stem-forms. The old pret. pl. form with **æ** (**ē**) would have become **i** in the dialect, § 130. On the other hand, **brak** is the old sing. form. The same is also the case with the **a** in the pret. of verbs of Class V.

CLASS V.

§ 372.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
W. Sax.	e	æ	ā	e
O. North.	e	æ	ē	e
1. W. ei (§ 87)		ee (§ 371)		o
<i>neid knead</i>		need		nodn
<i>speik speak</i>		speek (spak)		spokn
<i>spreid spread</i>		spreed		sprodn
<i>treid tread</i>		treed		trodn
<i>weiv weave</i>		weev		wovm
2. W. ei (§ 87)		ee		e (§ 73)
<i>eit eat</i>		eet		etn
3. W. e (§ 88)		a (§ 371)		e (§ 73)
<i>get get</i>		gat		getn
4. W. i (§ 77)		a (§ 371)		i
<i>gi(v)</i>		ga(v)		gin (§ 79)

1. **spreid** was a weak verb in OE. (*sprēdan*, pret. *sprēdde*). The pp. of this sub-division have been formed after the analogy of verbs of the fourth class. The pret. **spak** is very often heard.

2. The pret. **eet** is a new formation made after the analogy of **weiv**, etc. The OE. form sing. **āt**, pl. **āton** would have become ***it** (§ 130).

4. Instead of **gīn** I have very often heard **gen**, which is no doubt due to the influence of **etn**, **getn**.

§ 373.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
W. Sax.	i	æ	ǣ	e
O. North.	i	æ	ē	e
1. W.	i	a (§ 371)	i	
	bid invite to a funeral	bad	bidn	
	it hit	at	itn	
	nit knit	nat	nitn	
	sit sit	sat	sitn	
	slit slit	slat	slitn	
	spit spit	spat	spitn	
	split split	splat	spltn	
2. W.	i	e (§ 59)	u	
	dig dig	deg	dug	
3. W.	i	a	u	
	stik stick	stak	stuk	

1. **it** (O. Icel. *hitta find*), **nit**, **slit**, **spit**, **split** were originally weak verbs. I have also often heard the weak pret. and pp. **nited**; **bidn** (OE. *beden*, but already ME. *bidden* with i from the present), **sitn** (OE. *seten*, but already ME. *siten*).

2. **dig** was formerly weak (ME. *diggen*, *diggede*). The pp. **dug** is difficult to explain. According to Sweet, NE.

Gr. § 1370, the lit. form **dug** does not occur until towards the end of the Early Modern English period (1500-1650). The pp. **dugn** is also sometimes heard.

3. **stik** (OE. **stician**) was originally a weak verb. The pp. **stuk** may owe its u to the influence of **stun**, Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1376.

§ 374. To this class also belongs **sī** (OE. **sēon**) *see*, pret. **soe** (§ 63), pp. **sīn** = Old North. **gesēn**.

CLASS VI.

§ 375.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. a		ō	a
1. W. a (§ 71)		iu (§ 164)	ee (§ 312, 4)
tak <i>take</i>		tiuk	teən
2. W. oe (§ 63)		iu (§ 164 c)	oe
droe <i>draw</i>		driu	droen
3. W. a		ui (§ 163)	ui
stand <i>stand</i>		stuid	stuidn

stuidn has its vowel from the preterite. A weak pret. and pp. **standed** is not uncommon. I have also heard a pp. **studn**, the vowel of which seems to be due to the influence of the literary form **stood**.

§ 376.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. ēa		ō	a(æ)
W. ee		iu (§ 164 c)	ee (§ 65)
slee <i>slay</i>		sliu	sleen

The ee of the present is from the past participle. **šak** *shake* generally has the weak pret. and pp. **šakt**; but pret. **šiuk** (§ 164) and pp. **šakn** are not uncommon. The pp. of **fesak** *forsake* is **feseen** (§ 312, 4).

CLASS VII.

§ 377.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. <i>ā</i>		ēo	ā
W. <i>oe</i> (§ 123)		iu (§ 190)	oe
<i>bloe blow</i>		<i>bliu</i>	<i>bloen</i>
<i>kroe crow</i>		<i>kriu</i>	<i>kroen</i>
<i>moe mow</i>		<i>miu</i>	<i>moen</i>
<i>noe know</i>		<i>niu</i>	<i>noen</i>
<i>snoe snow</i>		<i>sniu</i>	<i>snoen</i>
<i>soe sow</i>		<i>siu</i>	<i>soen</i>
<i>þoe thaw</i>		<i>þiu</i>	<i>þoen</i>
<i>þroe throw</i>		<i>þriu</i>	<i>þroen</i>

þoe was a weak verb in OE. (*þāwian* or *þāwan*); *snoe* (OE. *snāw*) is the noun used as a verb, which has formed its pret. and pp. after the analogy of the other verbs of this class.

§ 378.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. <i>ō</i>		ēo	ō
W. <i>ou</i> (§ 166)		iu (§ 190)	ou
<i>grou grow</i>		<i>griu</i>	<i>groun</i>

§ 379.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. <i>ea(a)</i>		ēo	<i>ea(a)</i>
W. <i>oe</i> (§ 62)		e (§ 192 a)	oe
<i>foel fall</i>		<i>fel</i>	<i>foeln</i>

B. Weak Verbs.

§ 380. The weak verbs are best classified according to their formation of the preterite and past participle. We thus distinguish three classes:—1. -ed, 2. -d, 3. -t.

Paragraphs 381–3 contain a fairly complete list of verbs which either differ from literary English in the preterite and past participle, or are interesting from other points of view. When the pret. or pp. has two forms, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets.

CLASS I.

§ 381. The preterite and past participle generally take -ed when the present ends in -t or -d. But a few verbs with short stem-vowels, whose present ends in -t, have the same form in the pret. and past participle; and a few others with a long stem vowel in the present have a short vowel in the pret. and pp.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
bend <i>bend</i>	bended (bent)	bended (bent)
bild <i>build</i>	belt (bilded)	belt (bilded)
blid <i>bleed</i>	blided (bled)	blided (bled)
bluid <i>bleed</i>	bluided	bluided
brid <i>breed</i>	brided (bred)	brided (bred)
ēt <i>hurt</i>	ēt (ēted)	ēt (ētn)
fid <i>feed</i>	fided (fed)	fided (fedn)
grund <i>grind</i>	grunded	grunded
kest <i>cast</i>	kest (kested)	kested (kesn)
lied <i>lead</i>	lieded (led)	lieded (ledn)
melt <i>melt</i>	melted	melted
od <i>hold</i>	oded (eld)	odn (oded)
send <i>send</i>	sended (sent)	sended (sent)
skrat <i>scratch</i>	skrated	skrated (skratn)
spend <i>spend</i>	spended (spent)	spended (spent)
šuit <i>shoot</i>	šuited	šuited (šotn)
kost <i>cost</i>	kost (kosted)	kost (kosted)
kut <i>cut</i>	kut	kut (kutn)

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
let <i>let</i>	let	let (letn)
put <i>put</i>	put	put (putn)
set <i>set</i>	set	set (setn)
šut <i>shut</i>	šut	šut (šutn)
wed <i>marry</i>	wed	wed (wedn)
wet <i>wet</i>	wet (weted)	wet (weted, wetn)
lit <i>light</i>	let (lited)	let (letn, lited)
mít <i>meet</i>	met	met (metn)
ríd <i>read</i>	red	red
tím <i>pour out</i>	tem (temd)	tem (temd)
biet <i>beat</i>	bet	bet (betn)
friet <i>fret</i>	frieted (fret)	frieted (fretn)
swiēt <i>sweat</i>	swieted (swet)	swieted (swetn)
tšiet <i>cheat</i>	tšietet (tšet)	tšietet (tšetn)
triet <i>treat</i>	tret (trited)	tretn (trited)

When I was a boy pret. and pp. forms like **bent**, **bled**, **led**, **spent**, etc., were hardly ever heard, but through the spread of elementary education they are now much used, especially among the younger generation, and will no doubt in the course of time entirely supplant the other forms. In like manner the strong pp. **kesn**, **putn**, **fretn**, etc., were far more common twenty years ago than they are now.

Forms like **let** *lit*, *lighted*, **belt** have been formed after the analogy of such pret. as **met**, **red**, etc., where the vowel was shortened before the double consonants (e.g. pret. **mette**) already in ME.

CLASS II.

§ 382. The preterite and past participle generally take **-d** when the present ends in a voiced sound other than **-d**.

<i>Infn.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
bēn <i>burn</i>	bēnd	bēnd
briu <i>brew</i>	briud	briud (<i>briun</i>)
diēl <i>deal</i>	dield (<i>delt</i>)	dield (<i>delt</i>)
driēm <i>dream</i>	driemd (<i>drēmt</i>)	driemd (<i>drēmt</i>)
ēn <i>hang</i>	ēnd	ēnd
eu <i>hew</i>	eud	eud (<i>eun</i>)
fil <i>feel</i>	fild (<i>felt</i>)	fild (<i>felt</i>)
iē(r) <i>hear</i>	iēd	iēd
leē <i>lay</i>	leēd	leēd (<i>leēn</i>)
lein <i>lean</i>	leind	leind
len <i>lend</i>	lend	lend
lien <i>learn</i>	liēnd	liēnd
liēv <i>leave</i>	liēvd (<i>left</i>)	liēvd (<i>left</i>)
lig <i>lie down</i>	ligd	ligd
loiz <i>lose</i>	loizd (<i>lost</i>)	loizd (<i>lost</i>)
miēn <i>mean</i>	miēnd (<i>ment</i>)	miēnd (<i>ment</i>)
nīl <i>kneel</i>	nīld (<i>nelt</i>)	nīld (<i>nelt</i>)
riu <i>rue</i>	riud	riud (<i>riun</i>)
see <i>say</i>	sed	sed
sel <i>sell</i>	seld	seld
seu <i>sew</i>	seud	seud (<i>seun</i>)
siez <i>seize</i>	siezd (<i>seez</i>)	siezd
smel <i>smell</i>	smeld	smeld
spel <i>spell</i>	speld	speld
spil <i>spill</i>	spild	spild
spoil <i>spoil</i>	spoild	spoild
streu <i>strew</i>	streud	streud (<i>streun</i>)
swel <i>swell</i>	sweld	sweld
šeēv <i>shave</i>	šeēvd	šeēvd
šeū <i>show</i>	šeud	šeud (<i>šeun</i>)
šū <i>shoe</i>	šūd	šūd
tel <i>tell</i>	teld	teld

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
tlueð <i>clothe</i>	tlueðd	tlueðd
tšeu <i>chew</i>	tšeud	tšeud (tšeun)
wokn̩ <i>wake, awake</i>	woknd	woknd
gue <i>go</i>	went	guen
bai <i>buy</i>	bout	bout

The forms *delt*, *felt*, *left*, *lost*, *ment*, *nelt*, and in Class III *krept*, *slept*, *swept*, are the literary forms which are now very commonly used among the younger people.

We regularly use *leø*, *leød*, *leød* (*leøn*) in speaking of a hen, pigeon, etc.; but in other cases *leø* and *lig* are equally used transitively or intransitively without any distinction in meaning: *al lig i bed wol brekføs(t) taim* *I will lie in bed until breakfast time*, *al lig me dān* *I will lie (me) down*, *al lig it e tfleø(r)* *I will lay it on the floor*, *ðe leød* or *ligd wol ðe we te lat fe ðe wāk* *they lay until they were too late for their work*, *wi ligd* or *leød ez dān* *we lay down*, *ðev leød* (*ligd* or *leøn*) *oøl tbleem e mī* *they laid all the blame on me*.

CLASS III.

§ 383. The preterite and past participle generally take *t* when the present ends in a voiceless consonant other than *t*.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
elp <i>help</i>	elpt	elpt
katš <i>catch</i>	katšt	katšt
kríp <i>creep</i>	krípt (krept)	krípt (krepm, krept)
kus <i>kiss</i>	kust	kust (kusn)
reik <i>reach</i>	reikt	reikt
slíp <i>sleep</i>	slípt (slept)	slípt (slept)
swíp <i>sweep</i>	swípt (swept)	swípt sweeped

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
šap <i>shape</i>	šapt	šapt
teitš <i>teach</i>	teitšt (tout)	teitšt (tout)
weš <i>wash</i>	wešt	wešt
pīp <i>peep</i>	pept (pīpt)	pept (pīpt)
sīk <i>seek</i>	sīkt (sout)	sīkt (sout)
þink <i>think</i>	þout	þout
wēk <i>work</i>	wēkt (rout)	wēkt (rout)
mak <i>make</i>	meed	meed

Verbal Endings.

§ 384.

Present : The first person singular and the whole of the plural generally have no special endings, except when the subject of the sentence is a relative pronoun. See § 395, p. 156. The second and third persons singular end in -ez, -z, -s. -ez is used after the spirants s, z, š, ž, as *mis̄ez* *missest*, *misses*, *raizez* *rifest*, *rises*, *wišez* *wishest*, *wishes*, *sinžez* *singest*, *singes*; -z after voiced sounds, as *weivz* *weavest*, *weaves*, *lenz* *lendest*, *lends*, *duz* *dost*, *does*; -s after other voiceless sounds, as *elps* *helpest*, *helps*, *wēks* *workest*, *works*, *eits* *eatest*, *eats*.

On the personal endings of the verbs *have* and *be*, see §§ 395, 6.

Preterite : The singular and plural of strong verbs have no special endings. The singular and plural of weak verbs end in -ed, -d, -t for all persons. See §§ 380, 385.

Participles : The present participle ends in -in (§§ 276, 385). The past participle of strong verbs ends in vocalic -n after dentals (§ 269), -n after gutturals (§ 271), and -m after labials (§ 270). The past participle of weak verbs ends in -ed, -d, -t. See §§ 381-3.

Infinitive: The infinitive has no special ending just as in lit. Engl.

Paradigms.

§ 385. The conjugation of *en* *hang* and *brek* *break* will serve as models.

Indic. Pres. Sing.	1. <i>en</i>	<i>brek</i>
	2. <i>enz</i>	<i>breks</i>
	3. <i>enz'</i>	<i>breks</i>
Plur.	<i>en</i>	<i>brek</i>
Indic. Pret. Sing.	<i>end</i>	<i>brak</i>
Plur.	<i>end</i>	<i>brak</i>
Imper. Sing. and Plur.	<i>en</i>	<i>brek</i>
Infin.	<i>en</i>	<i>brek</i>
Pres. Part.	<i>enin</i>	<i>brekin</i>
Past Part.	<i>end</i>	<i>brokn</i>

§ 386. The future, the perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed the same as in lit. Engl. The subjunctive mood has entirely gone out of use.

§ 387. TABLE OF TENSES.

Tense.	Indefinite.	Imperfect and Continuous.	Perfect.	Perfect and Continuous.
Present	a. break <i>I break</i>	am brekin <i>I am breaking</i>	av brokə <i>I have broken</i>	av bɪn brekin <i>I have been breaking</i>
Preterite	a. brak <i>I broke</i>	a. wə brekin <i>I was breaking</i>	ad brokə <i>I had broken</i>	ad bɪn brekin <i>I had been breaking</i>
Future	as brek <i>I shall break</i>	as bɪ brekin <i>I shall be breaking</i>	as e brokə <i>I shall have broken</i>	as e bɪn brekin <i>I shall have been breaking</i>

NOTE.—The full conjugation of the auxiliary verbs will be found: *shall* (§ 391), *will* (§ 397), *be* (§ 396), *have* (§ 395).

C. Minor Groups.

a. Preterite-Presents.

§ 388. In tenses where it has been thought advisable I have added the affirmative and interrogative forms with and without negation. On the various forms assumed by the personal pronouns, see § 350.

I. *can.*

§ 389. Pres. strong form **kan**, weak forms **kən**, **kn̥**.
Pret. strong form **kud**, weak **ked**. The weak form **kn̥** is mostly used in combination with the personal pronouns.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i	kan or kn̥	w̥i, we
čā, tā, tə	„ „	jī, je
č, e	„ „	čee, če, če
šū, še	„ „	„ „

Pret.

ai, a, i	kud or ked	w̥i, we	kud or ked
čā, tā, tə	„ „	jī, je	„ „
č, e	„ „	čee, če, če	„ „
šū, še	„ „	„ „	„ „

Affirmatively with *not*.

<i>Pres.</i>		<i>Pret.</i>
ai, a, i, kanet or kānt		ai, a, i kudnt or kednet

etc. etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.

kan ai, a, i ?
 „ ă, tă, te ?
 „ ī, e ? }
 „ šū, še ? }

Plur.

kan wĭ, we ?
 „ jĭ, je ?
 „ ū, ū, ū ?

Pret.

kud ai, a, i ?
 etc.

kud wĭ, we ?
 etc.

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres

kanet or kānt ai, a, i ?
 etc.

Pret.

kudnt ai, a, i ?
 etc.

kud, **kēd** are used both as an infin. and past part., unless, as is more probable, the use of **kud**, **kēd**, in such cases, is due to the contamination of two constructions, as a *ius te kud* or **kēd diut** *I used to be able to do it*, *ad e dunt if id kud* (*never kēd*) *I would have done it if I had been able*.

2. *dare.*

§ 390. This verb presents no special peculiarities. I shall therefore only give the first person singular of each tense in use. The final t regularly disappears in the pret. before the following negative. A weak form **dē** only occurs in the phrase **a dē see** *I dare say*.

Present.

ai, a, i dāe(r)
 ai, a, i dārənt
 dāer ai, i ?
 dārənt ai, i ?

Pret.

ai, a, i děst
 ai, a, i, děsnt
 děst ai, i ?
 děsnt ai, i ?

3. *shall.*

§ 391. Present strong form **sal**, weak **sl**, **s.** Pret. strong form **sud**, weak **sed**, **st.**

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a sal	wī sal
aisl, asl	wīsl, wesl
ais, as	wīs, wes
đă sal	jī, je sal
đäsl	jīsl, jesl
đäs	jīs, jes
ī sal	đee, đe, đe sal
īsl	đeesl, đesl, đesl
īs	đees, đes, đes
sū, še sal	
šūsl, šesl	
šüs, šes	

Pret.

ai, a, i sud or sed	wī, we sud or sed
aist, ast	wīst, west
đă, tă, te sud or sed	jī, je sud or sed
đäst	jīst, jest
ī, e sud or sed	đee, đe, đe sud or sed
īst	đees, đes, đes
šū, še sud or sed	đeest, đest, đest
šüst, šest	

Affirmatively with *not*.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a salnt	wi, we, salnt
ai, a sānt	{ wi, we sānt
aisl, asl net	{ wiſl, wesl net
ais, as net	wiſ, wes net
čā salnt or sānt	jī, je salnt or sānt
čāsl, čās net	{ jīsl, jesl net
či salnt, sānt	jīs, jes net
čiſl, čiſ net	{
šū, še salnt or sānt	{ ſee, ſe, ſe salnt or sānt
šūſl, ſeſl net	{ " " " ſlnet
šūſ, ſeſ net	{ ſees, ſes, ſes net

Pret.

ai, a sudnt	wi, we sudnt
ai, a sed net	{ wi, we sed net
aist, ast net	{ wiſt, west net
etc.	etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

sal ai, a, i ?	sal wi, we ?
„ čā, tā, te ?	„ jī, je ?
„ či, e ?	„ ſee, ſe, ſe ?
„ šū, še ?	„ ſees, ſes, ſes ?

Pret.

sud ai, a, i ?	sud wi, we ?
„ čā, tā, te ?	„ jī, je ?
„ či, e ?	„ ſee, ſe, ſe ?
„ šū, še ?	„ ſees, ſes, ſes ?

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres.	Pret.
salnt, sānt ai, a, i?	sudnt ai, a, i?
etc.	etc.

There is no difference in meaning between the weak forms **s**, **st** and **sl**, **sed**, but only in usage. The former are never used except in combination with the personal pronouns, as *aset bi tē-moen I shall have it by to-morrow*, *tēst e guen if tēd kud they should have gone if they had been able*, *tmen sl (never s) et the men shall have it*, *tēi faðe sed gim(e) e feu thy father should give me a few*. But the difference in use between **s** and **sl**, **st** and **sed** in combination with pronouns seems to be due to sentence rhythm.

4. *must*.

§ 392. To express lit. Engl. *must*, we have two words which are never confounded in use :

1. Strong form **mun**, weak **mēn** which expresses a necessity dependent upon the will of a person, as *a mēn get mi wāk duin bi tē-nit I must get my work done by to-night*, *je men tel im wen e kumz et as bi bak inā you must tell him when he comes that I shall be back presently*, *mun i gue wi je? must I go with you?*

mun, **mēn** is sometimes used to express *may*, *can*, as *þa men þink wot te laiks bed þal e te diut you may think what you like but you will have to do it*, *mun þe stop?* may mean either *must they stop?* or *may they stop?*

The weak form **med** (§ 393), which generally means *might*, is also used as a preterite of **mun**, as *þu sed þe med oðer eit þat e diu bāt out she said they must either eat that or do without anything*.

mun is of Norse origin, O. Icel. inf. *mono*, later *munu*

shall, will, pres. sing. **mon**, later **mun**, pl. **monom**, later **munum**, pret. **munda**. The verb presents no peculiarities, so that only the first person is given here.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i mun or men	wi, we mun or men
„ „ „ munet or muent	„ „ munet or muent
mun ai, a, i?	mun wi, we?
munet or muent ai, a, i?	munet or muent wi, we?

2. For *must* we use *must*, which has no weak form, when it implies a logical or natural necessity, as *ða must bi e* *fuil if te pioks im bān te diut you must be* (*surely you are*) *a fool if you think I am going to do it*, *ðem et sed ðat must bi ren i ðer ied those who said that must be wrong in their heads*. In these and similar cases **mun**, **men** is never used. Cp. *ðe müst kum ðis wee* = Lowland Scotch *thay byd cum thys way* with *ðe men kum ðis wee* = Lowland Scotch *thay mæn cum this way*; the former implying that there is no other road, the latter that they are under personal restraint to take this road. On the Scotch verbs *byd*, *mæn* see *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, by Dr. Murray, pp. 217-8.

5. *may.*

§ 393. Present strong form **mee**, weak **me**. Preterite strong form **mud**, weak **med**. **mud** is a new formation made after the analogy of **sud** *should*, **kud** *could*.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i mee or me	wi, we mee or me
etc.	etc.

Pret.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i mud or med etc.	wi, we mud or med etc.

Affirmatively with *not*.

Pres.	Pret.
ai, a, i meent	ai a, i mudnt
„ „ „ menet	„ „ „ mudnet
etc.	etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
mee ai, a, i ?	mee wi, we ?
mee da, ta, te ?	etc.
etc.	

The e of mee regularly disappears before a following vowel (§ 193). After the analogy of mee i? may I? mee e? may he? I have often heard mee we? may we? etc.

Pret.

mud ai, a, i ?	mud wi, we ?
etc.	etc.

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres.	Pret.
meeent ai, a, i ?	mudnt ai, a, i ?
etc.	etc.

6. *ought.*

§ 394. out remains uninflected for all persons, so that it will be sufficient to give the first person only: ai, a, i out, outnt or outnet. out ai, a, i? outnt ai, a, i?

b. *have.*

§ 395. Pres. strong forms **ev**, **e**, weak **ev**, **e**. Pret. strong form **ed**, weak **ed**.

The present forms **e**, **e** are regular only before consonants: as **e dun inā** *I shall have done presently*, **a sed e guen bed fe ði** *I should have gone but for thee*; but we always say, **ai ev em** *I have them*, as **et or ev it** *I shall have it*. In combination with the pronouns we now use the **v** form before consonants, as **a or av dun** *I have done*.

The vowel disappears in the weak forms **ev**, **ed** when preceded by the nom. of the personal pronouns, **av I have**, **wi v we have**, etc. **ad sin im** *I had seen him*, but **tmen ed sin im** *the men had seen him*. And sometimes the verb disappears altogether, as **a faiv on em** *I have five of them*, **ðe guen uem** *they have gone home*, **ðe stoun em** *they have stolen them*, **wi or we funt** *we have found it*; but **wi or we fant** *we found it*. See § 249.

The final **-z** in the second and third persons singular becomes **-s** before voiceless consonants, as **estə?** *hast thou?* **if təs tə diut** *if thou hast to do it*.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i ev or e }	{ wi we ev or e
aiv, av, iv }	{ wiv wev
ðā, tā, te ez }	{ ji, je ev or e
ðáz, táz, tez }	{ jiv, jev
ī, e, ez }	
īz, ez }	
šū, še ez }	{ ðe, ðe ev or e
šüz, šez }	{ ðeev, ðev, ðev

Sing.	Pret.	Plur.
ai, a, i, ed }		{ wī, we ed
aid, ad, id }		{ wīd, wed
đă, tă te ed }		{ jī, je ed
đăd, tăd, ted }		{ jīd, jed
ě, e, ed }		
ěd, ed }		{ đe; đe ed
šū, še ed }		{ đeed, đed, đed
šđd, šed }		
	Infin. ev, e }	
	ev, e }	
	Present Part. evin	
	Past ,,, ed, ed, d.	

Affirmatively with *not*.

Pres.	Pret.
ai, a, i evnt }	{ ai, a, i ednt
aiv, av, iv net }	{ aid, ad, id net
etc.	etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Sing.	Present.	Plur.
ev ai, a, i ?		e wī or we ?
ez đă, es tă or te ?		e jī or je ?
ez ě or e ?		
es šū, es še ? }		e đee, đe or đe ?
esđe ? }		
	Pret.	
ed ai, a, i ?		ed wī, we ?
etc.		etc.

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres.	Pret.
evnt ai, a, i ?	ednt ai, a, i ?
etc.	etc.

The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used in combination with the personal pronouns, in other cases we use *ez*, *ez*, *z*, *s* (after voiceless consonants) just as in the second and third person singular, as *ðem menz bīn vari guid te me those men have been very good to me*, *tladz ez gen me sumet the boys have given me something*, *uz ets dun se mitš for im we who have done so much for him*, *ez ðem men sīn ðe ? have those men seen thee ? es taplz guen bad ? have the apples gone bad ?* The same also applies to the first person, as *its mī ets dunt it is I who have done it*, *mī ets ed se mitš te baid I who have had so much to endure*.

The endings *-z*, *-s* for the whole of the singular and plural are now chiefly confined to the verbs *have* and *be* (except the second person singular).

With other verbs we now generally only use these endings in combination with the relative pronoun *et*, as *ðem men diu ðe wāk vari wil those men do their work very well*; but *ðemz tmen et duz ðe wāk tbest those are the men who do their work the best*. Although this is the normal usage, I have often heard the *-z*, *-s* forms used under the same circumstances as they are for the verb *have*. In the older stage of the dialect the endings *-z*, *-s* must have been used for all verbs in the manner they are still used for *have*. Already in OE. the Northern dialects had the plural ending *-as* beside *-að*, e.g. *bindas* beside *bindað*.

As it may possibly interest some readers to learn how far the plural endings *-z* and *-s* extend, I have examined the Comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v. The

second and sixth sentences contain the point in question. The sentences are : (2) 'Few men die because they are laughed at.' In the dialect specimens this is often rendered as if it were : 'there are few men who die because they are laughed at.' In the statistics given below, this sentence will be referred to as without relative and ending, without relative with ending, with relative and no ending, with relative and ending. The sixth sentence is : (6) 'And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now.'

Western Mid Southern division : at Tedbury with rel. and ending -z ; at Ledbury and Much Cowarne without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and endings -s -z ; at Eggleton rel. with ending -z. Eastern Mid Southern : at Hamstead Norris without rel. and ending, but (6) rel. without ending ; Southampton to Winchester without rel. with ending -z and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Northern Border Southern : at Banbury without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Border Southern : at Handborough rel. and endings -z, -s. Southern Border Southern : no examples. East Southern : at Faversham without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Northern West Southern : at Wellington (West Somerset) (6) with rel. and no ending. South West Southern : at Iddesleigh without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also in South Devon. Western West Southern : no examples. South and North Western divisions : no examples. West Eastern : at Aylesbury (p. 190) *father and mother n (=are) lame*. Mid Eastern : at Ware without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also for Mid Bedfordshire and East Haddon. South and North Eastern divisions : no examples. East Eastern : in South Norfolk, East and West Suffolk without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Border Midland (the county of

Lincolnshire) : no examples. Southern North Midland : at Stalybridge without rel. with ending -n, and (6) with rel. and ending -s ; at Glossop with rel. and ending -n, and (6) with rel. and *er* along with the pres. part. ; at Chapel-en-le-Frith (2 and 6) with rel. and ending -n. Western North Midland : at Skelmersdale (2 and 6) rel. and endings -z, -s ; at Westhoughton without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and *iz* along with the pres. part. ; at Leyland without rel. with ending -n ; at Burnley without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and -s along with the pres. part. Northern North Midland : at Poulton without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and -s ; at Goosnargh without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and *iz* along with the pres. part. Eastern North Midland : at Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, both in (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s ; but at Sheffield without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Western Mid-Midland : at Middlewich both (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n ; the same at Shrigley ; at Tarporley (6) with rel. and ending -n ; at Burslem (6) with rel. and ending -s. Eastern Mid-Midland : at Taddington rel. with ending -n, and (6) rel. with ending -s ; at Ashford rel. with ending -z, and (6) rel. with *iz* along with the pres. part. ; at Winster (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s ; at Ashbourne rel. with ending -z, also without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s ; at Brampton (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n ; at Repton (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z and -s. East and Western South Midland divisions : no examples. Eastern South Midland : at Cannock Chase without rel. and ending -n, but (6) with rel. and ending -n ; at Dudley without rel. with ending -z ; at Atherton (2) and (6) with rel. and no ending, at Waltham without rel. and ending ; and (6) with rel. and no

ending. East Northern : at South Ainsty and Holderness without rel. with ending, -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washburn River, South Cleveland, North East Coast, and Market Weighton, all have (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s. West Northern : at Upper Swaledale, the Upper Mining Dales, Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale, Skipton, and Mid Craven, we have for (6) rel. with ending -s ; at Hawes, Kirkby, Lonsdale, Dent, Sedburg, Kendal, Orton, Kirkby Stephen, Crosby Ravensworth, Langwathby, and Keswick, we have the form without rel. with ending -z ; but at Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, Coniston, Long Sleddale, Temple Sowerby, Clifton, Holme Cultram, Carlisle, and Knaresdale without rel. and ending ; at Milburn, Ellonby, and Upper Swaledale with rel. and ending -z. All the dialects in this division have for (6) rel. with ending -s except at Coniston, where we have with rel. and no ending. North Northern : at South Shields (6) with rel. and ending -s ; at Newcastle and Berwick-upon-Tweed without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. The Lowland division : at Bewcastle, Hawick, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, and Dunrossness without rel. and with ending -z, but (6) with rel. and ending -s ; at Stranraer and Wick without rel. and ending, but for (6) with rel. and no ending. The above are the only comparative specimens of the Lowland division given in Ellis. But Dr. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, pp. 211-2, states that the plural and first pers. singular without -s are only used when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun ; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination -s in all persons. Dr. Murray informs me that the persons who

supplied Dr. Ellis with the comparative specimens for Stranraer and Wick have given inaccurate versions with regard to the verbal endings. The probability is that Dr. Ellis has misunderstood the versions, because in a note (p. 683) he distinctly says that he took down the two versions hurriedly, and was afraid that some of the finer shades might have escaped him.

c. *be.*

§ 396. The vowel disappears in the weak forms of the present, and when followed by a consonant the verb disappears altogether in the plural, as *wil gue wen tet redi* *we will go when thou art ready*, *þer at it egiən* *they are at it again*; but *þe bān uəm* *they are going home*, *we selin em* *et oepni e kweet* *we are selling them at a halfpenny a quart*. The -z in the third person becomes -s before and after voiceless consonants, as *tbriefed et te bouts nuen guid* *the bread which thou boughtest is not good*, *šes þinkin e gu(e)in* *she is thinking of going*.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>ai, a, i am }</i>	{ <i>wi, we āe(r)</i>
<i>aim, am, im }</i>	{ <i>wi(r), we(r)</i>
<i>ðā āt, tē āt }</i>	{ <i>jī, je āe(r)</i>
<i>ðāt, tāt, tet }</i>	{ <i>jī(r), je(r)</i>
<i>ī iz, e iz }</i>	
<i>īz, eż }</i>	
<i>šū iz, še iz }</i>	{ <i>ðee, ðe, ðe āe(r)</i>
<i>šūz, šeż }</i>	{ <i>ðee(r), ðe(r), ðe(r)</i>

Pret.

Sing.

ai, a, i wo(r) or we(r)
etc.

Plur.

wi, we wo(r) or we(r)
etc.

Infin. bi, be

Pres. Part. bi-in

Past,, bin

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

Sing.

ai, a, i amet
aim, am, im net
ðä, tä, te änt
ðät, tät, tet net
i, e iznt
iz, ez net
šü, še iznt
šüz, šez net

Plur.

{ wi, we änt
{ wi, we net
{ ji, je änt
{ ji, je net
{ ðee, ðe, ðe änt
{ ðee, ðe, ðe net

Pret.

ai, a, i wornt
ai, a, i we-net
etc.

wi, we wornt
wi, we we-net
etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

am ai, a, i ?
äðä, ätä, äte ?
izä, ize ?
iz šü, še ?
išü, iše ?

äwi, äwe ?
äji, äje ?
äðee, äðe, äðe ?

Pret.

Sing.	Plur.
wor ai, a, i ?	wow̄i, wowe ?
woðā, wotā, wote ?	woj̄i, woje ?
wor, ī, e ?	woðee, woðe, woðe ?
wošū, woše ? }	

INTERROGATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

amet ai, a, i ?	ānt w̄i, we ?
ătn̄dā, ătn̄tā ?	ānt j̄i, je ?
ătn̄te ? }	
iznt ī, e ?	ānt ăe, ăe, ăe ?
iznt šū, še ? }	

Pret.

wornt ai, a, i ?	wornt w̄i, we ?
etc.	etc.

In forms like *ānt art not*, *wornt was, were not*, the *n* is vocalic.

The above forms of the present are mostly used in combination with the pronouns, in other cases we generally use *iz*, *ez*, *z*, *s*, cp. § 395, as *tkoilz iznt dun jet the coals are not done yet*, *ăez lots ɔn em dān trued there are lots of them down the road*, *ăemz or ăem e vari guidnz those are very good ones*, *tladz ez or e bān wi je the lads are going with you*, *ăez fouks ets or et er oles grumlin there are people who are always grumbling*, *mī ets sē puəli I who am so poorly*, *ăi ets nout tē diu mēd elp me e bit thou, who hast nothing to do*, *mightest help me a bit*.

d. *will*.

§ 397. Present, strong form *wil*, weak *eł* which loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns.

Preterite, strong form *wod*, weak forms *wed*, *ed*, the latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns, as *ad len ðet*, *bed a kānt diu bāt it džust nā* *I would lend thee it, but I cannot do without it just now*, *tladz wed or ed fotš it, if je ast em* *the lads would fetch it, if you asked them.*

wod, wed is used as an infin. in the phrase: *ius tē wod to be formerly wont or willing to do a thing*, as *ðe ius tē wed elp mē nā en ðen* *they were formerly wont or willing to help me now and then.* *wod* is also in common use as a past participle, *a kud or ked e dunt if id wod* *I could have done it if I had wished.* But see the end of § 389.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.	Plur.
<i>ai, a wil</i> {	{ <i>wi, we wil</i>
<i>ail, al</i> {	{ <i>wil, wel</i>
<i>ðă, tă, te wil</i> {	{ <i>jî, je wil</i>
<i>ðăl, tăl, tel</i> {	{ <i>jîl, jel</i>
<i>ĕ, e wil</i> {	{
<i>ĕl, el</i> {	{ <i>ðee, ðe, ðe wil</i>
<i>šū, še wil</i> {	{ <i>ðeel, ðel, ðel</i>
<i>šûl, šel</i> {	

Pret.

<i>ai, a, i wod or wed</i> {	{ <i>wi, we wod or wed</i>
<i>aid, ad, id</i> {	{ <i>wid, wed</i>
<i>ðă, tă, te wod or wed</i> {	{ <i>jî, je wod or wed</i>
<i>ðăd, tăd, ted</i> {	{ <i>jîd, jed</i>
<i>ĕ, e wod or wed</i> {	{
<i>ĕd, ed</i> {	{ <i>ðee, ðe, ðe wod or wed</i>
<i>šū, še wod or wed</i> {	{ <i>ðeed, ðed, ðed</i>
<i>šûd, šed</i> {	

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

Sing.

ai, a wilnt or wiənt
etc.

Plur.

wī, we wilnt or wiənt
etc.

Pret.

ai, a, i wodnt }
aid, ad, id net }
etc.

wī, we wodnt }
wīd, wed net }
etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

wil ai, a, i ?
wil ðă, tă, te ? }
wită, wite ? }
wil ī, e ? }
wil šū, še ? }

wil wī, we ?
wil jī, je ?
wil ðee, ðe, ðe ?

Pret.

wod ai, a, i ?
etc.

wod wī, we ?
etc.

INTERROGATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

wilnt, wiənt ai, a, i ?
etc.

wilnt, wiənt wī, we ?
etc.

Pret.

wodnt ai, a, i ?
etc.

wodnt wī, we ?
etc.

e. *do.*

§ 398. As an independent verb diu has its full conjugation like any other verb. The pret. did is used for all

persons singular and plural. Present part. diu-in, which has been reformed from the inf., otherwise we should have had *du(i)in (§ 163); past part. duin, dun. Present wit *not* is duent, dunet, pret. didnt.

When used interrogatively as an auxiliary verb we have diu for the first person singular and for the plural strong form diu, weak forms də, di. When *do* is used affirmatively as an auxiliary verb it has, of course, no weak forms.

PRESENT.

Affirmatively.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i diu	wě, we diu
đă, tă, te duz	jě, je diu
ě, e duz }	đee, đe, đe diu
šă, še duz }	

Interrogatively.

diu ai, a, i ?	də or di wě, we ?
duz đă, dustă, duste ?	də or di jě, je ?
duz ě, e ? }	də or di đee, đe, đe ?
duz šă, še ? }	

The verb *do* is not used so frequently in asking questions as in lit. Engl.: wot þinstē, sal we gue? lit. *what thinkest thou, shall we go?* wod e diut, þink je? *would he do it, do you think?* See § 249.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XI.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

I. ADVERBS.

§ 399. 1. Adverbs of manner and degree: The adverbs of manner mostly end in -li, as *ādli* *hardly*, *oekedli* *awkwardly*; but we have the stress on the suffix in *siueli* *surely*, *ekuedinlái* *accordingly*.

ā *how*, ā-*ive(r)* *old people say āmive(r) however* which seems to have been contaminated with āsemive(r) *howsoever*, with the particle *sēm*=the O. Dan. *sum*, O. Icel. *sem*; *apm* (lit. *happen*), *me bi* *perhaps*, *nobed* lit. *not but*, *only*, *oles* *always*, *omest* *almost*, *tiu* *too*, *also* (instead of *tiu* we very often use *en oel* lit. *and all*, *it wer e vari guidn en oel it was a very good one too*, *aim bān en oel I am going too*), *vari* *very*, *wil* *well*. But when *well* begins the sentence we use *wel* just as in lit. Engl., as *wel*, *a niver ied sitš en e þir i oel mi boen deez well*, *I never heard such (an) a thing in all my born days*; but its *oel vari wil* *it is all very well*, *ſuz nuen se wil te-dee she is not very well to-day*.

sue, weak form *se so*. Instead of *sue* we often use *ðat*, as *i we ðat mad he was so angry*, *še we ðat week wol še kudnt stand* *she was so weak that (lit. while) she could not stand*.

The adverbs *also*, *thus*, *why* are not used. To express

also we use *tiu, en oel*, *thus is i ðis wee*, and *why, wot fo(r)*, *wots e guen fo(r)? why has he gone?*, a duent noe wot ez dun ðat fo(r) *I don't know why he has done that.*

Adverbs of place: *oniwið(r) anywhere, ie(r) here, iðe(r), hither, jondə(r) yonder, sumwið(r) somewhere, ðie(r)* (weak forms *ðe(r), ðə(r)*) *there, wið(r) where.*

Adverbs of time: *inā bye-and-bye, presently, binā by this time, ivə(r) ever, jestedə yesterday, jestenit last night, jet yet, nā now, nivə(r) never, oft often, sin since, suin soon, tə-dee to-day, tə-moen to-morrow, tə-moen-tnīt to-morrow (the) night, tə-nīt to-night, ðen then, wen when.*

Affirmative and negative particles: *ai yes* (*jes* is also used but it is not so common as *ai*), *nee no* (*nou no* has been borrowed from the literary language), *net not* (instead of *net* we often use *nuen*); cp. § 357.

2. PREPOSITIONS.

§ 400. *afte(r) after, bə-fue(r), e-fue(r), fue(r) before, bə-twin, twin between, bi, weak bə by, bə-int behind, bin within, dān down, e, ev (before vowels) of, e-bāt, bāt about, without, e-būn, būn above, e-gien, gien against, e-ler e along of, on account of, e-mer among, e-nent opposite, e-said, bə-said besides, e-stied e, stied e instead of, fo(r) for, fre, frē from, in, i in (i is very common before both vowels and consonants), intē, intev (before vowels), intul into, nie(r) near, nobed except, on (weak form e) on, of, oue(r), ove(r) over, sin since, tə, təv (before vowels), tul to, þriu, þre through, from, undə(r) under, up up, wi with, wiðāt without.*

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 401. The following are the chief conjunctions in addition to those prepositions and adverbs which may be

used as conjunctions: **b**ed *but*, **b**e-**k**os, **k**os *because*, **en** *and*, **et** *that* (**ð**at is never used as a conjunction in the dialect), **if** *if*, **noeðe(r)** *neither*, **oeðe(r)** *either*, **ne(r)** *nor* (after comparatives *than*, **b**e**t**e **n**er *i þout better than I thought*), **o(r)**, **e(r)** *or*, **ðoə** *although*, **wol** *until*, **that** (**s**top **wol** **e** **kumz** **stop** *until he comes*, **še** **w**e **ð**at **badli** **wol** **ð**e **þout** **š**ed **nive** *mend she was so ill that they thought she would never get better*).

SPECIMENS.

IT was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years; but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

There is a great quantity of stories and poems printed in the dialect, but as they stand they are practically worthless for the purposes of this book. The transcription is neither accurate nor consistent. All the specimens given here are from printed sources. To number III. I have added the original in order to show the kind of transcription usually employed in such books.

The sources are:—III. (*The Yorkshireman's Comic Annual*, 1884, pp. 37–38), IV. (*ditto*, 1885, pp. 14–17), V. (*ditto*, 1882, pp. 24–26), VI. (*Yorkshire Sketches*, by William Cudworth, pp. 11–17), VII., VIII., IX. (*Dialect and other Poems*, by Ben Preston, pp. 31–33, 11–12, 1–10).

I.

Comparative Specimen.

See Ellis, EEPr. vol. v. p. 7*. In this and the Dialect Test I have inserted the forms in parentheses in the literary English Specimens in order to facilitate the reading of the dialect versions.

1. 'wel, neəbə(r), jī ən im mə buəþ laf ət ðis niuz ə main.
uə keəz? ðats noəðər iə nə ðiə(r).

2. feu men dī kos ðə laft at, wī noə, duənt wə? wot səd
mak əm? its nət vari laikli, iz it?

3. āsəm'ivə ðiəz ə tfaks ə tkeəs, suə džust od jə din, frend,
ən bi kwaiət wol iv dun. ākɪ!

4. aim siuər a iəd əm seə—sum ə ðem fouks ət went
þriu tuel þiə frə tfəst ðəsenz,—þat a did, [seəf] siuər
i·nif,—

5. ət tjʊəsist sun isen, ə gēt lad ə nain, niu is faðə voiz
ət wuns, ðo(ə) it ·wo sə kwier ən skwiəkin, ən ad trāst ·im
tə speik t'riuþ oni deə, ai, a ·wod ðat.

6. ən toud wumən əsen l tel oni on jə ət laf nā, ən tel jə
streit of, tiu, bāt mitš boðə(r), if jəl nobəd as ə(r), oə! wiənt
šə?—

7. ət oni reət šu teld it ·mī wen i ast ə(r), tū ə þrī taimz
ouə(r), šu did, ən ·šū outnt tə bi ren i sitš [ən] ə point əz
ðis, wot þiək jə?

I.

Comparative Specimen.

1. Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

2. Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? what should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

3. Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your [din] noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

4. *I am [sure] certain I heard them say—some of [them] those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, [sure] safe enough,—*

5. That the youngest son himself, a great [lad] boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it was so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would* [that].

6. And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—

7. [at any rate] leastways she told it *me* when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

8. wel əz a wə se(ə)-in, šūd tel jə, ā, wiər ən wen šə fan d'rukn̩ ānd ət šə koəlz ər uzbn.

9. šu sweə šə so(ə) im wi ər oən īn, ligin reit ət ful lenþ, ə tgrund, in iz guid sundə koit, tlois bi d'uər ə tās, dān ət tkoəner ə jon loin.

10. i wə ruərin ə·weə, sez šū, fər oəl twēld laik ə puəli bān, ər ə litl las in ə friət.

11. ən ðat apmd, əz ər ən ə doutər-i-loə kom þriu tbak jād frə inin twet tluəz ət tə drai ə twešin deə.

12. wol tketl wə boilin fə t'iə, wun fain brīt sumər aftənuin, nobəd ə wik sin kum tnekst þēzdə.

13. ən, di jə noə? a nivə liənd nə muə nə ðis ə ðat biznəs up tə tə-deə, əs siuər əz mi neəm z džon ſepəd, ən a duənt wont tiu oəðə(r), ðiə nā!

14. ən su(ə) am bān uəm tə mi supə(r). guid nīt, ən duənt bi sə redi tə kro(ə) ouər ə bodi ə·giən, wen ə toəks ə ðis ðat ə tuðə(r).

15. its ə weək fuil ət preəts bāt riəzn. ən ðats mai last wēd. guid bai.

8. Well as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where, and when she found the drunken [hound] that she calls her husband.

9. She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying [right] stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

10. He was [roaring] whining away, says she, for all the world like a [poorly barn] sick child, or a little [lass] girl in a fret.

11. And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes on [the] a washing day.

12. While the kettle was boiling for [the] tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week [since] ago come next Thursday.

13. And, do you know? I never learned [no] any more [nor] than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

14. And so I am going home to [my supper] sup. Good night, and don't be so [ready] quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t' other.

15. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good bye.

II.

Dialect Test.

See Ellis, p. 8*, and compare the version given below with the one in Ellis (p. 389), which contains several strange mistakes both in the version and the notes to it. If his rendering of the dialect test of other dialect speakers is as inaccurate as that of the Windhill dialect, the value of these tests for phonetic and philological purposes is not very great. The classified word-list (pp. 391-4) also contains many mistakes. The only way in which I can account for these inaccuracies is partly through the hurried manner in which the dial. test and classified word-list were taken down and partly through their not having been revised.

1. su(ə) a seə meəts, jə sī nā ət im reit ə·bāt ðat litl las kumin frə tskuil jondə(r).
2. šuz gu(ə)-in dān truəd ðiə þriu tred geət ə tleft and said ə tweo.
3. siuər i·nif, tbān z guən streit up tə d'uər ə trei̯ ās,
4. wiə šl tšons tə find ðat drukn̩ diəf wiznd felə (more commonly tšap) ə tneəm ə tomes.
5. wi oəl no(ə) im vari wil.
6. wiənt toud tšap suin teitš ə nət tə diu it e·giən, puə þiñ!
7. liuk! iznt it triu?

II.

Dialect Test.

1. So I say, mates, you see now that I am right about that little [lass] girl coming from the school yonder.
2. She is going down the road there through the red gate on the left hand side of the way.
3. Sure enough, the [barn] child has gone straight up to the door of the wrong house,
4. where she will chance to find that drunken deaf [wizzened] shrivelled fellow of the name of Thomas.
5. We all know him very well.
6. Won't the old chap soon teach her not to do it again, poor thing !
7. Look ! Isn't it true ?

III.

TBATL Ə T'LUEZ LAINZ.

ai, Greës, las, it wér oël ouér ə bit əv ə tluez kuëd. am nät wun ə tsuët tə guë peilin up ən dān dirin fouk ouë(r), əz ə riul; ȳa noëz ȳat. wot ·ai wont is piës ən kwaiëtnës, bëd if fouk wiënt let më ev it [or et], al mak əm sit up fot, 5 əz oni wumën ·wod ət əd ər oën weë tə mak i twäld, ən ə lot ə bânz tə mak ən mend fo(r), nivë neëm ə uzbn ət nivë blakliëdëd ə greet ə wešt ə windë sin wed wë wo(r). ȳa noëz əz wil əz ·ai noë wot ə gët wešin ai ev ivri wik—ə lot ə muki smoks ən skëts, ət jë më boil ən betë boil, ən ȳen bi 10 niëli əz bad əz wen jë bë·gan. ȳe duënt koël it tgriëzi miln fë nout. tiuzdë z olës bïn mai wešin deë fë ȳièz siks jië bak ə muë(r). a olës put t'luez të stîp tnit ə·fuë(r), ən get up ət faiv ə·tlok i tmoënин, ə·fuë Ben ən tbânz guëz tə ȳe wâk, ən gets tsetpan ə·geët, ən z ivri tlât Ȅt suin aftë brekfës 15 taim, if ȳëz ə guid druft, fér if ȳëz wun þin muë nér ə·nuðër ət maks Ben liuk blak its ə lot ə tluez irin ə·bât.

ȳats bin mai we(ə) ə gu(ə)in on, ən šuz noën it əz wil əz iv noën it misen. wol ȳis apmd wi wér əz guid neëbëz əz nïd bï. wi mud fratš ə bit nâ ən ȳen ouë tbânz—fë ȳat 20 Siuzi ə Ȅz iz ə reit ·teëstril əv ə las, ən giz Ȅë Džoni sum reë slaps sumtaimz—bëd wiv nivë ed në boðë të miëñ out wol nâ. ən if tél bë·liv më, las, av dun muë fë ȳat ȳièz wumën nér if Ȅëd bïn mi oën sistë(r). a neg·lektëd mi oën uëm të

III.

T'BATTLE O' T'TLOAZE LINES.

Ay, Grace, lass, it wor all ovver a bit of a tloaze cord. I'm nut one o' t'seart to go peylin' up an' dahn dingin' fowk ovver, as a rule; thah knaws that. What I want is peace an' quietness, but if fowk weant let me hev it, I'll mak' em sit up for it, as onny woman wod 'at hed her awn way to mak' i' t'world, an' a lot o' barns to mak' an' mend for, nivver name a husband 'at nivver blackleaded a grate or weshed a winda sin' wed we wor. Thah knaws as weel as I knew what a gurt weshin' I hev ivvery week—a lot o' mucky smocks an' skirts, 'at ye may boil an' better boil, an' then be nearly as bad as when ye began. They don't call it t'greasy miln for nowt. Tuesday's awlus been my weshin' day for these six year back or more. I awlus put t'tloaze to steep t'neet afore, an' get up at five o'clock i' t'mornin', afore Ben an' t'barns goes to ther wark, an' gets t'set-pan agate, an' hez ivvery claht aht sooin after brekfast time, if ther's a gooid druft, for if ther's one thing more nor another 'at mak's Ben lewk black it's a lot o' tloaze hingin' abaht.

That's been my way o' goin' on, an' shoo's known it as weel as I've known it mysen. Whol this happen'd we wor as gooid nabors as need be. We mud fratch a bit nah an' then ovver t'barns—for that Susey o' hers is a reyt tay-strill of a lass, an' gives ahr Johnny some rare slaps sometimes—bud we've nivver hed no bother to mean owt whol nah. An' if ta'll believe me, lass, I've done more for that theer woman nor if shoo'd been my awn sister. I ne-

weat on ə wen še wə ligin in ə tlast bān ; av swild tpasidž
25 duznz ə taimz wen its bīn ə tēn ; ən a wə nivər e·giən takin
keər ə tās for ə wen šeə wontəd tə guə tə tmītin. šūz ə
grand ən tə guə tə tmītin, šū iz Ədat ; bəd a oləs sed, ən al
se(ə) e·giən, ət Ədem ət prə·fesəz tə bi sə piuər ən guid əz oləs
twāst wen Əə kum tə bi reit reknd up. a wuns niu ə pāsnz
30 doutər ət didnt no(ə) ā tə freəm tə weš ə pot up, ən še kəd
fešn tə guə tə t'şapil ivri sundə i twik. bəd jə duənt no(ə)
u(ə) is sānd wol jəv bodmd əm reit; ən if onibodi kəd ə
teld mə Ȑrī wił sin ət Meəri Džeglz əd ə dun əs šu ez dun tə
mə, ast ə Ȑroən d'ištlāt i Əə feəs ən teld əm Əə wə nuən
35 wot Əə out tə bī. bəd Əəz nout tə bi sed fot. Əes sum
fouk əd disiəv ə maiklkskoup, Əe sə dīp.

wel, eż a wə telin ðə, av ołəs wešt ə t'iuzdə ðis moni e
jɪə(r), fər a laik tə gu(ə) āt ə bit əv ə mundə, wen iv getn
əm ðə sundə tluez brušt ən saidəd ə'weə, ən a mak nou t
40 wešin ən beakin tə-geðər et tbak end ə twik, wen
jə səd bi tliənin. suə tiuzdə z mai deə, ən šu noəz it.
wel, ə fotnit sin kum jəstədə, a gat up et faiv ə'tlok, eż
iuzl, ən went at it laik ə oəs wol ə'bāt brekfəs taim. ðen
a tiuk t'luek kuəd ən þout ad bi getin ə tūþri þiñz āt. bəd,
45 wod tə bə'līv it? Meəri əd guən ən putn ər oən kuəd āt
ən getn it ful ə tluez. a kəd ādli bə'līv mi oən īn. a niva
niu ə weš wol wednzdə ə'fuər i oəl mi laif, su(ə) a guəz up
tul ər, ən a sez, 'wots tmiənin ə ðis laik?' 'tmiənin ə
wot?' šu sez, eż inisnt eż ə stuft miul. 'didnt tə no(ə) it
50 wə mai wešin moənin?' a sez. 'apm a did,' šu sez, 'ən
apm a didnt, bəd a spuəz av əz mitš reit tə iŋ mai tluez āt
əz ðā ez tə iŋ ðain.' ðis netld mə; su(ə) a sez, 'ða noəz

glected my awn hoam to wait on her when shoo wor liggin' in o' t'last barn; I've swilled t'passidge dozens o' times when it's been her turn; an' I wor nivver ageean takkin' care o' t'hahse for her when shoo's wanted to go to t'meetin'. Shoo's a grand un to go to t'meetin', shoo is that; bud I awlus said, an' I'll say ageean, 'at them 'at professes to be so pure an' goooid is awlus t'warst when they come to be reyt reckoned up. I once knew a parson's dowter 'at didn't know hah to frame to wesh a pot up, an' shoo could feshan to go to t'chapel ivvery Sunday i' t'week. Bud ye doan't know who is sahnd whol ye've bottom'd 'em reyt; an' if onnybody could ha' told me three week sin' 'at Mary Jaggles wod ha' done as shoo hez done to me, I sud ha' thrown t'dishelaht i' ther face an' told 'em they wor noan what they owt to be. But ther's nowt to be said for it. Ther's some fowk 'ud deceive a michaelscowp, they're so deep.

Well, as I wor tellin' tha, I've awlus weshd o' t'Tuesday 45 this monny a year, for I like to go aht a bit of a Monday, when I've gotten 'em ther Sunda' tloaze brushed an' sided away, an' I mak' nowt o' weshin an' bakin' together at t'back end o' t'week, when ye sud be tleanin'. So Tuesday's my day, an' shoo knaws it. Well, a fortnit sin' come 50 yesterday, I gat up at five o'clock, as ushal, an' went at it like a horse whol abaht brekfast time. Then I tewk t'tloaze cord an' thowt I'd be gettin' a toathree things aht. Bud, wod ta believe it? Mary hed goan an' putten her awn cord aht an' gotten it full o' tloaze. I could hardly 55 believe my awn een. I nivver knew her wesh whol Weddinsday afore i' all my life, so I goes up tul her, an' I says, 'What's t'meanin' o' this like?' 'T'meanin' o' what?' shoo says, as innocent as a stuffed mule. 'Didn't ta know it wor my weshing mornin'?' I says. 'Happen I did,' 60 shoo says, 'an' happen I didn't, bud I suppose I've as mitch reyt ta hing my tloaze aht as tha hez ta hing thine.' This nettled me; so I says, 'Thah knaws varry weel 'at Tues-

vari wīl et tiuzdē z mai deə, ən su(ə) al þeɪk ðə tə get ðem
 tlāts ə ðain āt ə truəd əs suin əs tə kan.' 'uə tə toəkin
 55 tul?' šu sez. 'ða noəz vari wīl u(ə) im toəkin tul,' a sez,
 'suə let s e nə boðə(r).' ðen šu tānz rānd ən šu sez, 'av əz
 mitš reit tə ðis grund ən tə ðat tluəspuəst əz ðā ez, ən al sī
 ðə fat əfuər al tak əm dān, suə nā ða noəz.' 'al pūl əm
 dān if tə duznt,' a sez. 'if tə duz ðal get ði topin pūld,' šu
 60 sez. 'ən uəl pūl it?' a sez; 'uəl pūl it, Meəri Džeglz?'
 ən a went up tul ə tə ſeu ər a wə nuən fleəd on ə(r), nər oni
 sitš laik. 'ðal sī uə,' šu sez, 'suə get intə tās wi ðə.' a wə
 sum ən mad, ða mə bi ſiuə(r), su(ə) a sez, 'get intə tās
 ðisen, jə oud þiə; uə stāvd tkat?' 'uə kudnt þoil tə kip
 65 wun?' šu sez. 'uə boild d'iſtlāt up wi tbroþ?' sez ai.
 'uə ſenz ðə bānz āt i regz?' sez ū. 'uə z reiə i ðər iəd?'
 sez ai. 'ðā āt, ən oəl bə'lemin ðə,' šu sez.

a wornt bān tə stand sitš leɔwidž əz ðat oni loŋə(r),
 su(ə) a þriu mi kuəd dān ən ran intə tās ən gat tkāvin
 70 naif. ðen a fliu et ə kuəd wi it in ə džifi. bəd ad nə ſuine
 bə'gun ə ſeəgin wi it nə ſə ruſəz at mə wi tlōn bruš ən
 ramz it intə mi feəs, fər oəl it wə kuvəd wi wet ən muk.
 ad sitš ən ə muki feəs əz ða nivə ſoə ſin tə wə boən. bəd
 a wə nuən bān tə bi bet, su(ə) a fotšt mi oən lon bruš, ən
 75 aftə rubin it i tsludž i tmidl ə truəd a went ən peəntəd ivri
 reg et ſəd iŋin āt wi it. Meəri ðen fotšt ə peəlful ə sudz ən
 þriu əm ouər āe duəſtnz, bəd a gat ə pigin ful ə tseəm ſuət
 ə ſtuf ən let ər ev it feər i tfeəs. ə regle krād əd getn rānd
 bi ðis taim, ən tladz kept ſiŋin āt oəl ſuəts ə lou ſtuf, ən
 80 wot əd ə bīn tupſot on it oəl a duənt no(ə) if āe Ben ednt
 apmd tə kum uəm təv iz brekfəs džust ðen.

day is my day, an so I'll thenk tha to get them clahts o' thine aht o' t'road as sooin as ta can.' 'Who're ta talkin' 65 tul?' shoo says. 'Thah knaws varry weel who I'm talkin' tul,' I says, 'so let's hev no bother.' Then shoo turns rahnd an' shoo says, 'I've as mitch reyt to this grund an' to that tloaze-post as thah hez, an' I'll see tha fat afore I'll tak' em dahn, so nah thah knaws.' 'I'll pool 'em dahn if 70 ta doesn't,' I says. 'If ta does thah'll get thy toppin' pooled,' shoo says. 'An' who'll pool it?' I says; 'who'll pool it, Mary Jaggles?' an' I went up tul her to show her I wor noan flayed on her, nor onny sitch like. 'Thah'll see who,' shoo says, 'so get into t'hahse wi' tha.' I wor 75 some an' mad, thah may be suar, so I says, 'Get into t'hahse thysen, ye owd thing; who starved t'cat?' 'Who couldn't thoil ta keep one?' shoo says. 'Who boiled t'dishelaht up wi' t'broth?' says I. 'Who sends ther barns aht i regs?' says shoo. 'Who's reng i' ther heead?' says I. 'Thah art, an' all belengin' tha,' shoo says.

I warrant bahn to stand sitch langwidge as that onny longer, so I threw my cord dahn an' ran into t'hahse an' gat t'carvin' knife. Then I flew at her cord wi' it in a jiffy. Bud I'd no sooiner begun o' sawin' wi' it nor shoo 85 rushes at me wi' t'long brush an' rams it into my face, for all it wor covered wi' wet an' muck. I'd sitch a mucky face as thah nivver saw sin' ta wor born. Bud I wor noan bahn to be bet, so I fotched my awn long brush, an' after rubbin' it i' t'sludge i' t'middle o' t'road I went an' painted 90 ivvery reg 'at shoo hed hingin' aht wi' it. Mary then fotched a pailful o' suds an' threw 'em over ahr doorstuns, bud I gat a piggin' full o' t'same soart o' stuff an' let her hev' it fair i' t'face. A reggalar crahd hed gotten rahnd by this time, an' t'lads kept singin' aht all soarts o' low 95 stuff, an' what 'ad ha' been t'upshot on it all I don't know if ahr Ben heddant happened to come hoam to his brekfast just then.

'What's up nah?' says Ben; so I at it an' tell'd him,

'wots up nā?' sez Ben ; su(ə) a at it ən teld im, ol·ðoə še
 wər ektərin ə·weə laik mad ivri bit ə t'aim. fə wuns Ben
 tiuk mai said, ən i tiuk ə tluez, ən tkuəd, ən ivriþið džust
 85 əz it wo(r), ən bənd əm slap on təv ər oən duəstnz. Ə
 wər ə bit ə kwaiətnəs ən fər ə bit, ən a gat mi oən kuəd
 ful ə tluez ət ə·fuə Ben went bak ə·giən təv iz wāk. in ə
 wail ət aftə(r), ə·ivə(r), a iəd ə lafin noiz, su(ə) a popt mi iəd
 ət ə d'uə(r), ən Əier if toud bīzm ednt guən ən kut mi lain
 90 dān, ən oəl mi tluez wə ligin ə tfluə(r). a faiəd up ən a
 went təv ər ās, bəd ſu slamd d'uər i mi feəs ən put tlatš
 dān su(ə) əz i kudnt get in. 'al mak Əə peə fə Əis, jə
 treš!' a ətəd þriu tkei-oil. 'mak on!' ſu ətəd bak, ən ad
 tə gu(ə) ən sam mi tluez up ən weš əm ouər ə·giən. wot əd
 95 ə kum tə pas if it ednt tōnd ət tə bi ə wet deə a kānt tel ;
 bəd it kom dān laik kats ən dogz, ən wi buəþ ed tə drai wə
 tluez i tās.

wen nīt kom a wə fleəd Əəd bī ə boni rumpəs, fə Ben wə
 boilin wi reədž. if oni ə Meəri bānz kom niər āəz ſu fotšt
 100 əm in wi ə tlate(r), ən þriətnəd tə kil əm if ivə Əə leəkt wi
 əm þiəz oni muə(r). 'wir əz guid əz ji!' sez əe Dik.
 'bəd jāə muðəz ə bad ən; ſuz bān tə bi teən tə tlokup,' sez
 Meəriz juəist las. þiəz gat tə sitš ən ə pitš, indid, wol əe
 Ben went ən ofəd tuəl famli, big ən litl, ət tə feit. ə·ivə(r),
 105 Meəri uzbn z ə nais kwaiət suət əv ə tšap, ən av nou tə
 se(ə) ə·giən 'im, ən i wodnt oəðə mel nə mak. ən Əats wot
 wiv getn tul, ən ə wis kum on tnekst tiuzdə Əə loəd uənli
 noəz. bəd as nivə fə·giv ə(r); nivə wol i liv; tnasti guid-
 fə-nout ! aftər oəl ət iv dun for ər ən oəl, ən nivə tšeədž
 110 ər ə oəpni pīs.

wornt Əat ə nok ət d'uə(r)? a þout it wo(r). kum in.
 wel, if it iznt Meəri ! Əa sez Əa þout it wə wednzdə ? ən

although shoo wor hectorin' away like mad ivvery bit o' 100 t'time. For once Ben tewk my side, an' he tewk her tloaze, an' t'cord, an' ivverything just as it wor, an' beng'd 'em slap on to her awn doorstuns. Theer wor a bit o' quietness then for a bit, an' I gat my awn cord full o' tloaze aht afore Ben went back agean to his wark. In a 105 while at after, hahivver, I heared a laughin' noise, so I popt my heead aht o' t'door, an' theer if t'owd besom heddant goan an' cut my line dahn, an' all my tloaze wor liggin' o' t'floor. I fired up an' I went to her hahse, but shoo slammed t'door i' my face an' put t'latch dahn so as I 110 couldn't get in. 'I'll mak tha pay for this, ye tresh!' I sharted threw t'keyhoil. 'Mak' on!' shoo sharted back, an' I hed to go an' sam my tloaze up an' wesh 'em ovver agean. What 'ud hev come to pass if it heddant turned aht to be a wet day I can't tell; bud it com' dahn like 115 cats an' dogs, an' we both hed to dry wer tloaze i' t'hahse.

When neet com' I wor flay'd there'd be a bonny rumpus, for Ben wor boilin' wi' rage. If onny o' Mary's barns com' near ahhs shoo fotched 'em in wi' a clatter, an' threaten'd to kill 'em if ivver they laikt wi' *them things* onny more. 120 'We're as gooid as ye!' says ahr Dick. 'Bud yahr mother's a bad un; shoo's bahn to be ta'en to t'lockup,' says Mary's youngest lass. Things gat ta sitch a pitch, indeed, whol ahr Ben went an' offered t'whoal family, big an' little, aht to feyt. Hahivver, Mary's husband's a nice, 125 quiet sort of a chap, an' I've nowt to say agean *him*, an' he woddant awther mel nor mak'. An' that's what we've gotten tul, an' hah we sal com' on t'next Tuesday the Lord oanly knaws. Bud I'se nivver forgive her; nivver whol I live; t'nasty gooid-for-nowt! After all 'at I've done for 130 her an' all, an' nivver charged her a hawpney piece.

Warrant that a knock ot t'door? I thowt it wor. Come in. Well, if it isn't Mary! Thah says thah thowt it wor Weddinsday? An' thah wants to be reyt? So dew I. I don't know what we've hed to fall aht abaht; an' I've 135

ða wonts tə bi reit ? suə diu ai. a duənt noə wot wəv ed
tə foəl āt ə·bāt ; ən av džust bin se(ə)in ət if ivə ðə wər ə
115 wumən ət i þout out ə·bāt it wə ðī. kum in wi ðə. av
bin evin ə bit ə frendlī tšat wi Greəs iə(r). tketl z on,
ən av ə fati keək i tuvm, ən a dāə see əbez ə drop ə
Džəmeəkə sumwiə(r). sit ðə dān, las.

just been sayin' 'at if ivver theer wor a woman 'at I thowt
owt abaht it wor thee. Come in wi' tha. I've been
hevin' a bit ov a friendly chat wi' Grace here. T'kettle's
on, an' I've a fatty cake i' t'oven, an' I dar' say theer's a
drop o' Jamaica somewheer. Sit tha dahn, lass.

IV.

TKUKŪ TLOK.

a wə dān ət Līdz tuðə wik, ən bi-in reððə drai aftə liukin rānd t'ān, a apmd tə pop intəv ə eələs nət fāə frə tsteišn, wiə ðə wə bān tə bī ə rafl fər ə kukū tlok. a də seə jəl noə wot ə kukū tlok iz; ā-ivə(r), its ə tlok əts getn 5 ə oil i tfeəs ont wiər ə bēd pops āt ivri āər ən šāts 'kukū' ə-stiəd ə straikin, ən šāts wuns ivri oəf āər əz wīl. nā it wə tseəm ət ðis rafl əz it iz ət ivri uðə(r)—ðe wər oəl wontin tə bi twinə(r). ðe wə niəli oəl jun̄ tšaps ət wər in, ən ət ə-bāt sevm ətlok ðe bə-gan ə mustrin tə·geðə(r). wol 10 ðə wə weətin ðia fər əm oəl tənin up, ðe kəd toek ə nouit nobəd ðis kukū tlok. 'am siuər ai sl win it,' sed Ned ə oud Bilz. 'ðal nət win ðis,' sed Krakə(r). 'av nət bīn in ə rafl jət bəd wot iv wun.' 'ðat tlok l bi 'main tə-nīt, ər els am t̄set,' sed Džim Tanə(r). 'ə diəl on jəl find jəsenz 15 mis-teən,' sed jun̄ Stroəberi, kos av kum þrī mail ə pēpəs tə fotš it.' t'aim kom ət last for əm tə šak, ən if jəd nobəd sīn əm eəin on t'eebl tə sī wot numəz wə tənd up, jəd aktli ə þout ðə wə bān tə swolə tbeəsin. trafl wər ouər ət last, ən Bili Mušrəm wə di·kleəd tə bi twinə(r). wen (ə)levm 20 ətlok kom, tlanloəd teld əm it wə taim tə bi skiftin, suə Bili gat is tlok ən went uəm. nā Bili didn't no(ə) ət it wər ə kukū tlok, ən id niə sīn wun ə-fuə(r), su(ə) it koəzd im ə diəl ə trubl, əz al tel jə in ə bit 'sə ðə, Džini wot iv brout ðə,' i sed tə twaif, əz i tlapt t'lok on t'eebl wen ə gat uəm. 25 'wiər es tə getn ðat þriu, Bili?' ū sed. 'av wun it,' sed Bili. 'ai, its ə boni ən. av niə sīn wun laik ðat ə-fuə(r). bəd let s bi šapin fə bed, Bili, fər its getin lat.' 'al iŋ t'lok

up ə·fuər i guə,’ sed Bili, əz ə went fər ə neal ən tamə(r). aftər əd uə it up ə·giən twoəl, ən set tpendləm wegin, əe went tə bed; bəd əd nuən bīn in moni minits ə·fuə əd iəd 30 sumət ət ‘kukū! ’ ‘wot əd eñment s ət? ’ sed Bili. ‘neə, ai kānt tel,’ sed Džini. ‘am siuər a iəd sumdi ət kukū,’ sed Bili. ‘suə did ai, Bili,’ sed twaif. Bili gat up, strak ə lit, ən went dān-tsteəz. i liukt oəl up ən dān, bə·int d’uəz, intə tkubəd ən tkoil oil, bəd kəd find nout, 35 su(ə) i went ən gat intə bed ə·giən. in ə bit i iəd ‘kukū’ twelv taimz. ‘iə ə, Džini,’ i sed, ‘ətats pleən i·nif, bi gum! ’ ən džumpt ət ə bed, strak ə lit, ran dān-tsteəz, gat od ə tpuəkər ən bə·gan tə unt up ən dān ə·giən. ‘a kī sī nout dān iə(r), Džini,’ i sed, aftə liukin up ən dān fər ə·bāt 40 ten minits, ‘džust fil if əz onibodi undə tbed.’ ‘neə, bi gum, Bili; brin tlit ən kum ən liuk fə əsien.’ ‘ət nuən fleəd, ə tə? ’ sed Bili, bə·ginin tə bi frītnd isen, ən diðərin wol ə kəd ədli od tkarl i tstik. ‘neə, am nət ə bit fleəd,’ šu sed, ‘bəd av iəd fouk se(ə) ət twelv ə·tlok ət nīt s t’aim 45 ət bogədz bə·gin tə nok ə·bāt, ən its džust ə·bāt twelv nā.’ ət wər i·nif fə Bili. tkarl flopt ət ə tstik, ən i rušt upsteeəz ən tumld intə bed əz if sumdi wər aftər im. ‘oə, mēðə(r)! ’ skriəmd Džini, þiñkin Bili əd sīn sumət. Bili kuvəd iseln ouə tiəd wi t’luəz ən krept dān tə tbodm ə tbed. id getn 50 sə fāe dān ət wun əv is fit uə ə bit ouə tbodm, ən tkitlin bi-in upsteeəz ən wontin sumət tə leək wi, gat od ə Bili tuəz wi it tloəz. ‘mēðə(r)! ’ Bili ətəd, əz i dredz iz leg up. ‘þivz! ’ skriəmd Džini, əs šu kuvəd ə·sen ouə tiəd. noəðər on əm dēst stē fər ə·bāt ten minits. ət last Džini sed, 55 ‘Bili! Bili! ’ ‘od ət din las.’ ‘dus tə þiñk əs əz oəntəd, Bili? ’ ‘am siuər it iz,’ sed Bili, ‘ən al fit tfēst þiñ ə mundə moənin. a niə bə·livd i bogədz ə·fuə(r), bəd a kī bə·liv it nā, bə·kos av felt wun.’ ‘felt wun?’ sed Džini. ‘ai e fə siuə(r), las.’ ‘ən wot wor it laik?’ šu sed. ‘a kānt 60 tel. it kom ən gat od ə mi tu(ə) ə bit sin.’ Džini flopt ouə tiəd ə·giən, ən Bili þiñkin əd sīn sumət, flopt ouə tiəd tiu. in ə bit, ivriþiñ bi-in kwaiət, Džini popt ər iəd ət ə bed

ə·giən. ‘Bili, a wiš it wə moənin,’ šu sed. ‘suə diu ai,’
 65 sed Bili, ež e flopt iz ied āt. ‘am feən ðā ied it ež wil ež
 mī, er els ða mēd apm e þout ad bin driəmin.’ ‘it wə nuə
 driəmin, Bili, fə noəðər on ež eð bin e·slip.’ ðe buəþ leəd
 lisnin, ən ivriþin wə se kwaiet ðe kēd iø t’lok tikiñ dān-
 tsteəz. ‘kukū !’ wə šāted ə·giən. ‘jonz tseəm din e·giən,’
 70 šu sed; ‘am siuər its dān-tsteəz. gu(ə) ən ev e·nuðə liuk.’
 ‘a duənt noə wiə tkarl iz,’ i sed; ‘it tumld āt e tstik
 sumwiə(r).’ ‘wel, itl nuən bi fāer of; get up ən liuk fot.’
 Bili gat up, went on iz anz ən nīz, ən bə·gan gruəpin e·bāt
 tfluə fə tkarl. nā Džini eð uñ e frok ən skēts on e neəl et
 75 t’op e tsteəz, ən Bili apmd tə tutš em wen i wər untin
 fə tkarl, ən ðe kom tumlin on im. i džumpt intə bed
 wi sitš fuəs et i nokt iz waif āt e tuðə said. ‘məðə(r) !
 þivz !’ skriəmd Džini, ən šu opmd twində ən šāted ‘elp !’
 e plismen et wə džust pasin, þiñkin sumet wə reñ i tās,
 80 brast d’uer opm ən went in. ‘wot s tə diu ie(r) ?’ i sed.
 ‘kan je sī onibodi ðiə(r) ?’ Džini šāted. ‘ā kan i sī i d’āk ?’
 i sed, ež i šut d’ue tə kip onibodi frə gu-in āt. ‘stop ðiə
 wol Bili gets e lit,’ šu sed, ‘kos ðəz oəðə þivz e bogədz i
 tās.’ Bili gat e lit, ən im ən tplsismen sietš buəþ upsteez
 85 ən dān, bəd kēd find nout. ‘je fə·gat tə liuk undə tbed,’
 sed Bili. e·weə tplsismen went upsteez, ən Bili ən twaif
 krept aftər im. nout wə fun undə tbed, suə tplsismen sed et
 ðə must e bin mis·teən. wol ðə wər upsteez tbəd šāted
 ‘kukū’ ə·gien. dān kom tplsismen, tū steps et wuns, ən
 90 Bili ən twaif krept aftər im. e sietš wə ðen meəd i ivri
 niuk ən koəne(r), əvə undə t’iəpot ən tsoltselə(r), bəd
 nout wə fun. ‘ðes sumet kwiər e·bāt ðis,’ sed tplsismen.
 ‘ðes sumet vari kwiə(r),’ Džini sed. ‘e je ivər ied
 95 sitš dinz ež ðem i tās e·fue(r) ?’ tplsismen ast. ‘nivər e·fue
 tə-nít,’ Džini sed. ‘wel,’ sed tplsismen, bə·ginin tə bi eš
 fleəd ež oəðə Bili e twaif, ən gu-in ež wait ež e šit, ‘as bi
 rānd e·gien in e·bāt ən aə(r), ən al liuk in,’ bəd i wə feən tə
 get āt, ən ðev nət sīn im sin. Bili ən twaif krept upsteez
 e·gien, ən džust ež ðed getn intə bed ðe ied ‘kukū’ wuns

muə(r). ‘wel, ðis kaps oəl ət i ivər iəd tel on,’ sed Bili. 100
 ‘its tlast nīt i ðis ās fə mī,’ sed Džini. ‘a wodnt stop iər
 if ðəd let mə liv rent-fri.’ ‘its nu(ə) ius gu-in dān-tsteəz
 e·giən, iz it, las, wi kīo find nout?’ ‘neə, wi məd džust əz
 wīl stop wiə wə āer ən kīp wokī wol moənin.’ ðe wisped
 tə wun ən·uðə wol tū e·tlok, ən ðen ðe iəd ‘kukū’ twais. 105
 ‘bi gum, its jondər e·giən!’ Bili sed, ən it oləs sānz i tseəm
 pleəs. av ə guid maind tə sit dān-tsteəz ə bit ən sī if i kn
 find it ət.’ ‘diu, Bili,’ šu sed. Bili let tkanl, krept pratli
 dān-tsteəz, ən piəkt isen i trokin tšeə(r), bəd i suin fel
 e·slip. i didnt iə tbəd šāt wen it wər oəf past tū, nə Džini 110
 noəðə(r), fə šəd guən tə slip tiu. Bili woknōd džust e·fue
 þrī e·tlok, ən findin id bīn e·slip, i dlanst rānd tās, bəd i soə
 nout. in ə bit tbəd kom ət ən šātəd ‘kukū’ þrī taimz.
 Bili kest iz ən up ət t'lok wen ə iəd it fəst taim, ən ðen i
 gat up tul it wen it šātəd tseknd taim, ən wen it šātəd 115
 tbəd taim id ə guid liuk at it wol it popit in ən wə šut up.
 ‘oe, av fun ðə ət et last, ev i?’ i sed. ‘Džini! Džini! av
 fun tbogəd ət; kum dān ən liuk at it.’ ‘wot iz it, Bili?’
 šu sed. ‘its ə bəd getn intə t'lok,’ sed Bili. Džini kom
 dān-tsteəz, ən ðen Bili went tə t'lok ən traid tə opm d'uə 120
 wiə tbəd wo(r), bəd i kudnt manidž it. ‘ā ðə e·ments ez
 it getn ðiə(r)?’ Džini sed. ‘neə, a kan net tel,’ sed Bili.
 ðe buəþ traid tə get ət tbəd wol oəf past þrī, wen it popit ət
 ən šātəd ‘kukū,’ ən ðen went in e·giən. Bili traid to get
 od ont, bəd it wə tə šāp for im. ‘ðat ən oud fešnd raskl, 125
 bi gum!’ sed Bili, ‘bəd ðal apm net bi sə fleəd wen təz bīn
 iər ə de(ə) ə tū.’ ‘wel, Bili,’ sed twaif, ‘a nivə niu sitš ən
 ə þin i mi laif. av oməst ə guid maind tə nok it nek ət fo
 frītnin əz ən kīpin əz wokī nieli oəl tnīt. kil it fəst þin,
 ən let s e nə muə boðə wi it.’ tlast ət i iəd e·bāt Bili ən is 130
 kukū tlok, i wə fiksin ə fāntn for it tə drīnk ət on, ən e
 boks for it tə eit ət on, e·said ə toil wiər it kept popin it iəd
 ət.

V.

EA Z ET BI TMESTA(R) ?

ðis əz ə kwešn et oft kumz up fə dis·kušn, ən wen ə niuli
 wed kupl es tə di·said it ðe sumtaimz a loŋ wail ə·bāt it. i
 mi juŋ deəz, wen a wə wēkin et tmiln, niuz wə brout intə
 tmēkanik šop et Sam Wilmən ən An Aris wə bān tə bi wed əs
 5 tnekst sunda. ðis niuz wə brout in džust ə·fuə tindžn stopt
 et brækfəs taim, ən suə wen wəd getn naisli set dān tə wə
 moənin miəl oud Dik Tšəri sen̄ ət tə Sam—‘wot, a ges ðat
 bān tə bi wed tnekst sunda.’ ‘wa,’ sed Sam, ‘am þiəkin ə
 sumet ə tsuət.’ ‘wel, nā,’ sez oud Dik, ‘if tə miənz tə gu(ə)
 10 on smuiðli ən bī ə api man, duənt spoil ði waif wi pamprin
 ə(r), əz if ſə wər ə sik bān, bəd bə·gin əs tə miənz tə kari
 on; if tə duznt, ʃal e tə riu. et tvari taim et oud Dik wə
 givin ðis əd·vais tə Sam, ə lot ə wed wimin əd geðəd rānd
 An Aris i tweivin ſeəd, ən ðe sed təv ə(r), ‘nā, An, las,
 15 wotivə tə duz, sī et tə stanz up fə ði reits; duənt gi weə
 tul im ən inš. if tə wuns bə·ginz tə nukl under il mak ə
 kum·pliət sleəv ən drudž on ðə; its oləs tbest weə tə bə·gin
 əz wə in·tend tə kari on.’ its oft bin sed et fouk rekñz
 noūt ə əd·vais unles ðə guə təv ə loejər ən peə ſiks ən
 20 eitpms fot; bəd buəj Sam ən An þout təd·vais ðed getn wə
 wēj aktin on. rent deəz ən wedin deəz ‘wil kum et last,
 ðoe lanloədz ən braidgriumz þioks ðe kum on et ə sneəl
 galəp, ən wen tnekst mundə moənin kom rānd Sam ən An
 wə man ən waif. ‘its ſiks ə·tlok bi ðis wotš ə ðain,’ sed
 25 Sam, ‘a þiok its ə·bāt taim tə gat up ən let tfaiə(r).’ ‘a
 wə džust þiəkin,’ sed An, ‘et ·tād leəd reəðə tə loŋ, get up
 wi ðə, ʃal find sum kinlin i tuvm. ‘a mən e ði tə get up,’
 sed Sam; ‘es tə fə·getn wot tə sed jəstədə—didnt tə promis

tə luv, onər ən ə-beə? ’ ‘ am prə-peəd tə diu oəl i promist,’ sed An, ‘ bəd ə bodi kānt diu ivriþiñ et wuns, al luv ən 30 onə ðə nā, if tl get up ən lit tfaiə(r), ən wen tketl boilz ða mən koəl mə dān-tsteeəz ən al ə-beə ðə.’ ‘ kum, kum,’ sed Sam, ‘ if tə þiñks tə kñ traifl wi mə i ðis weə ðal find āt ði mis-tak. a as ðə tə diu nout et i kānt bak up wi skriptə(r), fə sant Pitə sez—“waivz, nukl undə tə jər uzbzn.” ’ ‘ duz 35 ə?’ sed An. ‘ al bə-liv it wen i sī it.’ ‘ ðen ða sl suin sī it,’ sed Sam, ən i bānst āt ə bed ən ran dān-tsteeəz in is šēt. wol ə wə rumidžin ə-bāt fə t'estiment, wot duz An diu bəd nip intə t'lozit, sam up oəl iz wātə tluez, flñ əm dān tə tbodm ə tsteps, bout t'šeəmə duər i tinsaid, ən ðen krīp bak 40 ə-giən intə bed. in ə bit, Sam in iz əri tə get bak, gat wun əv is fīt feltəd in iz dudz, ən fel forəd, bumpin iz nuəz ə-giən tšāp edž ə wun ə tsteps. ðis put im intəv ə bit əv ə pešn, ən wen ə gat tə tsteeəz iəd, ən fan d'uə fest, i swear ə gēt uəj, ðoe id bīn et t'sapil tnīt ə-fuə(r). ‘ ðiə lad,’ sed 45 An, ‘ if təs swoən wi t'estiment i ði and, a wodnt bi ði fər oəl tbras i tbəñk, ðez nuəbdi sə āndd əs tə diu ðat nobəd trif-raff et gets intə tkuət-ās.’ ‘ a tə bān tə opm d'uə ən liuk et ðis tekst?’ sed Sam. ‘ al liuk at it, wen tə lets mə no(ə) et tketl z boilin, its nu(ə) ius getin up ə-fuə(r),’ ən An 50 kuvəd ər iəd up i tbed tluez ən fee kiñkt ə-giən wi lafin, tə þiñk ā šəd bafld im; bəd wen še iəd tās duə guə tul wi ə gēt berə, it put ə bit əv ə dampər on ə məriment. ‘ wiərivə kan tmadlin bi of tul?’ sed šū, ‘ a oməst wiš id getn up misen ən let tfaiə(r), its nuə gēt džob, ən if id jīldəd 55 ðe wod ə bīn piəs bətwin əz. wiš! a þiñk a iər is fuit kumin up tsteps. if ə pīps þriu tlok-oil il bi eəbl tə sī mə. al rekñ tə bi ə-slīp’. suə šu leəd wi ə feəs tə d'uər ən stātəd ə snuərin laik ə peər ə blaksniþ beləsəz et əd getn ə bad koud. in ə bit šu stātəd up ən leind on ər elbou ən 60 āknəd. šu iəd ə soft, pərin noiz ən nā ən ðen ə sānd əz if sumət wə skratin wud. ‘ oə diə(r),’ šu sed, ‘ its nuən im, its nobəd tkat et s mīdləs fər ə drop ə milk.’ it wə nu(ə) ius An trai-in tə foəl ə-slīp, šu kudnt, suə še dond ə-sen ən krept

65 reit pratli dān tsteəz. oēl wər ēs koud ēn sailnt ēz ē tšētš
 ēv ē wikdeə. Sam wə nuəwiə tə bi sīn, bēd iz wātē dudz
 wə guēn, suē ū ūni id set of sumwiə(r)—bēd wiə(r)? ū
 samd up tfaiē ūl, þiəkin ūd guē tə tbodm ē tjād tə tkoil-
 oil ēn fotš ē ūlfl ē koilz, nēt ēt ū ūout ē litin tfaiə(r), oē,
 70 nou, ūd eit it suinə(r), bēd ūd get oēl redi fēr im, su(ə) ēz
 ēkēd ev ē bleəz in ē minit. bēd, bē-oud! wen ū ūontəd
 tə gu(ə) āt ū fan ēt d'uē wə fest, ēn ūd kudnt opm it. ū
 wər ē priznē lokt up i tās. wen ū ūboutəd ē bed-rām duēr
 ēn bafld ēr uzbn, ūd laft reəli, þiəkin it wər ē vari guid
 75 džuek; bēd wen ū ūwafld ēn bestəd ēsen ūd kudnt laf.
 uēd fouk mēd apm ē sīn tfun ont, bēd An didnt—ūd brast
 āt ē ruərin. if ū ūd oni wāk tə guē tul ūd ē guēn tə
 tmln, if ū ūd ē getn āt ē tās; bēd ūd ed nē wāk, ūd gīn
 up ē liumz, fē Sam ēd sed, ‘ðasl nīvē guē tə tmln ēgīen,
 80 las, ēz lōr ēz a kīp ðē. wen ū ūbē-þout ēr ē ðēm wēdz
 ūd ruēd ādē nēr ivēr ēn pūld sum eēr of ēr iēd ēn fleēt on
 tfluə(r), ēz if ðat, sumā, kēd mend matēz. oēl ēt wuns ū ū
 bē-þout ēr ēt tnekst duē neēbēr ēd ē kei ēt ēd opm ðēd
 duə(r), suē wen ū ūd baþt ēr īn wi koud wotə(r), ūd stātēd ē
 85 pundin tfaiē bak wi tpuəkē(r). In ē bit tneēbē wumēn kom
 āt ēn steēd in ēt twindē tə sī wot wər up. ‘am lokt in,’
 sed An, ‘a wont jē tə opm d'uē wi jāo kei.’ tneēbē ran uēm
 fē tkei ēn opmd d'uēr in ē krak. ‘wotivē did jēr uzbn lok
 jē in fo(r)?’ sed tneēbē(r). ‘wa,’ sed An, trai-in tə laf, it
 90 sīmz id fegetn mē, it iznt twenti fouēr āēz jēt sin wi wē tīd
 tē-geðē(r), ēn ē man kānt get intē ūni weēz oēl ēt wuns. a
 dē se(ə) it ēd tliēn slipt iz maind ēt i ed ē waif, su(ə) iz lokt
 d'uēr ēn teēn tkei in is pokit ēz iuzl. Samz ē tšap ēt boðēz
 iz iēd ē guid bit wi tpē-petiuel muēsn. ēn av īvm noēn im
 95 set of tē tpump wi tfaiē ūl in iz and ēn ðēn kum sliəkin
 bak fē twotē kit. puēr An sed oēl ðis in ē mēri of-and weē
 ēt ēd ē dirsiēvd tvari oud lad isen, bēd it didnt blind
 twumēn ēt livd tnekst duə(r). ēs ū ūwent bak tēv ēr oēn ās
 ū ūsed, lou dān, ‘ðat wumēn z bin ruərin, ðez ē fratš on bi
 100 nā.’ wel, a diu þiək ēt ðat deē wē tlōjist, drī-ist, ēn muēst

mizrēbl deø et ivør An ød past sin šø wø boøn. wot ød bø-kum ø Sam šu kudnt im-adžn. i didnt kum niø fer ø bait ø dinø(r), øt givin ouø taim i nivø tønd up, øn øt ten ø-tlok øt nít ød nivø sín is feøs. if ød went wuns tø tentri end, šu went ø undød taimz i tæ tø áknø fer is fuit, bød it 105 wør øøl i veøn. Sam wø noøðø tø bi iød nø sín. twäst ont wo(r), šu kudnt fešn tø guø sïk for im, šu felt øz if ød reøðø dí nør oni ø tmiln lasøz sød no(ø) øt Sam ød left ø tvari de(ø) aftø twedin deø. øøl þouts ø konkrin ør uzbn øn setin up fø tmeøstø wø skatød tø twind; it wø fæø betø tø 110 bi oni suøt øv ø drudž øn sleøv nø liv ðat weø; su(ø) øt aftø ten ø-tlok øt nít, šu kinld tfaiør øn meød øz nais ø supør øz anz kød mak, nøt fer ø-seln, bød fø Sam. øs fer ø šu ednt etn ø mäþfl øøl ðat blesid deø, nø kudnt; ðe wør ø lump in ø þroit sø big øt ød kudnt swoøt øt øøl. øs fø Sam, wier ed i 115 bñin øn wot ed ·i bin diu-in? aftø liøvin uøm i went streit tøv iz wåk, gat iz brekføs øn iz dinør øt ø kofi-øop, øn øt øøf past faiv øt nít wondød up øn dän tstrøts øz dezølet øn mizrēbl øz oni man wil kan bñi. øz ø wø moøndrin up øn dän i ðis weø i gat mikst up wi ø kråd ø fouk øøl gu-in i 120 wun di-rekšn. i went wi tstriøm, fer i didnt keø mitš wier ø went, øn øt last fan isen in ø tšapil. in ø wail øn oud man, wi ø feøs laik øn eøndžilz, stuid up øn preitšt laik øn eøndžil, preitšt piøs bø-twøn kuntri øn kuntri, piøs bø-twøn man øn man, øn last øv øøl, piøs bø-twøn man øn waif. it 125 sïmd tø Sam øz if, sumweø, toud man ød getn tø noø wot wør up bø-twøn im øn twaif, fer i liukt streit øt im øn teld im ðe sød bi nø strugl fø tmeøstøship bø-twøn man øn waif, bød øt in øøl þirøz, big ø litl, luv sød bi tmeøstø(r). wen Sam gat át ø ðat tšapil iz át bø-gan tø sofn tåd iz juø waif, tø 130 mak eks-kiuseø fer ø konkunkt, øn after ø desprøt batl wi is praid øt lastød wol ø-levm p.m. i þout id gu(ø) uøm øn trai tø fø-get øn fø-giv. wen ø gat niø tentri end, i tutšt ø due step wi is fuit, øn wø vari niø foølin. An so(ø) im øn ran intø tås riøjin ør anz øn krai-in ‘oø die(r), iz drukø, iz 135 drukø.’ tpuø las dësnt feøs im i like(r), suø øøl id øsen

e·bak e tkitšin duə(r). in e bit Sam kom in, bəd nət druknə,
i wə soubər i·nif ən sorəfl i·nif. i sat im dān i tām tšeər ən
liukt rānd. tfaiəsaid wə wām ən brīt ən taidi, e nais supə
140 wə redi, is slipez leən bi tfendə(r), ivriþin dun fər is
kumfət ət wumən kud diu. i leind bak in is tšeər ən šu
kəd sī t'iəz wun aftər ənuðə run sloəli dān is feəs. in e bit
An ventəd tə kum ăt ən sed pitifli, 'Sam!' i tānd iz iəd, iz
legz peətəd, ən i eld ăt iz āmz. i les nər e tik-tak še wə
145 siətəd on iz nī, wi ər āmz rānd iz nek, sobin eż if ər ăt əd
brek. aftə ðat ðe wə nivə nou tə sed əs tə 'uə z tə bi
tmeəstə(r); buəj sed 'luv sl bi tmeəstə(r)', ən ðat satld it.

VI.

EN OUD BOIZ REKÈLEKŠNZ.

‘tēnd fifti!’ bi tmegz, bēd its taim tē bi liukin rānd tkoenēz nā, en nuē mis’tak. džust e bit lorēr en as bi wun e ðem lēki tšaps bāt šuin, en stokinz ivē sē mitš tē big, et Wiliēm toeks e·bat i tplee. bēd a nuēn laik it, en ðat s flat. wen e tšap kumz tē ðat, wot kumz tēv im? wa, īz 5 nokt e·bat þriu pile tē puəst, en tmuəst et fouk se(ə) on im iz—‘ai, puər oud tšap, īs sīn iz best deēz.’ its tšiefl, kumfetin toek iz ðat fer e tšap et s muild en broild, en duin iz best tē kīp bodi en soul tē·geðə(r), en apm riēd e lot e jun ənz tē elp tē kari on twēligig biznēs e twēld. after oēl its 10 laik stopin et e guid beētin šop wen e tšap s reikt iz oēf sentri, eż it giz im·e tšons e samin isen tē·geðə laik, en makin e dženrēl balēns up e oēl iz dun en left undun. a wundēr ā moni on eż l bi eēbl tē stand it en kum of wi e balēns e treit said! am fit tē þiñk ðez nobēd ier en ðiē wun. 15 eēs fe misen, al tak tult en mak nē buenz e·bāt it—av bīn e regle raskl þriu tfēst wik a wē boēn. mi muðē s sed suē moni e taim, su(ə) it mun bi triu. ā-ivēr a kēd fešn tē liuk er it feēs aftē t’aimz šēs teld me ðat, a kanēt imadžin, en am nuēn bān tē dis·piut it, net ai. ðez moni þāzn muē bīn 20 teld tseēm teēl. su(ə) as nuēn bi bāt kumpni. bēd liēvin džuēkin e·said, a riēli en onistli bē·liv a wēr e raskl i mi jun deēz. tnumēr e kitlinz iv þrotld, duks iv traíd tē mak piēk, doøkiz teēlz iv prikt, prē·sāvz iv stoun, tluēs-kuēdz iv snikt, windēz iv brokñ, fati-keēks iv etn, en misdē·miēnēz 25 bāt numēr et ed e bīn e eñin džob i toud fešnd taimz wen eñin wē fešnēbl. oēl ðiez kraimz en moni muē raiz up

laik guests kundžəd bi ðem tū wēdz—‘tēnd fifty.’ a mee
 bi þout e braznt ānd, bəd ðes sum e mi triks al bi eñd if
 30 im sori fo nā! a wodnt giv e tos fər e junstər et eznt e spāk
 e divlri e·bāt im. wot if e duz galəp þriu e siut e tū e tluez
 e jiə(r). ad reeðə peə fər e siut e kuədiroi nər e wudn ən
 oni taim. ðe wər e trik a wuns pleəd toud skuil misis, oud
 Mali Begstə wī koəld e(r). e reər oud las wə Mali i d'eez
 35 bə·fuə skuil buədz ən buəd skuilz wə þout on. ſu wər e·bat
 tšap əv e beəl e botni, wi e feəs laik e raizin sun stikin āt
 e·t'op; litl fat āmz, ən anz əz big əz e ūldər e mutn. ſu
 kəd noeðə rīd nə rait, bəd ðat didnt mater i ðem deəz. ſu
 ·wor eəbl tə beək avə-keək, ā-ivə(r), ən ðat wər e muə
 40 konsikwens tə Mali. wel, wot bə·twin beəkin avə-keək ən
 liukin aftər e·bāt twenti bānz, Mali əd e wāk set. a duənt
 no(ə) ā ſəd e getn on, if ſə ednt e ed tə iuz e þibl i tavə-
 keək biznəs. it kom in sə andi tə wokn uz juə ənz up wi,
 ən kip eəs þriu fratšin. it wər e bit oəkəd sumtaimz wen
 45 Mali əd bin stərin tþin uət-meil, ən sudnli snigd tþibl āt tə
 gi sum on əz e swiləkər on tsaid e tfeəs. toud las wə reeðə
 fond e wopin mī, bəd a di·tāmind tə e mi ri·vendž, ən wun
 de(ə) ad e fain tšons. Mali wə dān e wun fuit, et reeðə
 spoild e woəkin. ðe wər e peər e kats et toud las wə vari
 50 fond on, suə wot did i diu bəd tī buəj ðə teəlz tə·geðər ən
 iñ em ouə tband wiə Mali uñ ər avə-keək. a niu ſəd fleər
 up di·rekli ſə soə tkats i ðə kwie pə·zišn. a niu tiu et ſəd
 mak streit fə mī wi tþibl, suə di·rekli a so(ə) e kumin a
 wopt e soft avə-keək on tə tʃluə reit i toud las weə, ən dān
 55 ſə kom eə flat əz e flāndə(r). bai gou, wornt ðər e meəlek
 i tmiul-oil oəl in e minit. toud wumən fiumd ən rould
 e·bāt, wi e ſoət leg stikin up i teə(r); tkats splutəd ən feət;
 tlazd ən lasez ran skampərin āt intə tstrit; ən ai wər e·bāt
 tfəst on em, fər a niu wot əd apm if i didnt kut mi stiks.
 60 eə diə(r), ðem oud fešnd taimz! ðez nuə sitš meəlek in i
 ðiəz deəz! ast laik tə sī tlaz wi tþluk tə sāv sitš ən e trik
 on e skuil buəd misis! wa, id bi wēj iz weit i Džiudi Barit
 umbugz. wel, aftər id ed e fəst-reət skuilin, sitš eəz ladz

gat i ðem deøz, a wø put prentis tøv ø gruøse(r). nā, a duøt
 no(e) ø muø trai-in sitiweešn fér ø lad wi ø weeknøs fè swit 65
 stuf nér evin trun øv ø gruøse šop—ðat iz, wol ø gets ø
 reglø siknør øn ðen il wiš isen øt tnoøþ poul, ø sum sitš spot
 wiø ðø sák ais-šaklz fè ðø foenuin drinøkin. litl Nati Belše
 wø mi meøstø(r), øn a wø wot ðø koøl ø induø prentis, witš
 ment nouø bød wåk, de(e) in øn de(e) át, øn sleøvin ø-weø tū 70
 ø þri nits bø-said, wen ðø wør out tø diu i wei-in punz ø
 siugør øn penøþs ø suøp, øn sitš laik. a didnt se mitš keø fè
 ðat øt føst, kos ad ø fain tøns ø pitšin intø figz øn reøzinz,
 øn siugø kandi, øn traiflz ø ðat suøt, bød, bi gou, ðat suøt ø
 þjøø duznt last fér ivø(r). its kapin á suin swit stuf gets øz 75
 bitør øz goøl wen ø tøsap øz is ful swiø at it. ai imadžin its
 ø-bát tseøm wi wot ðø koøl tplezøz ø ðis wøld i dženrøl.
 á-ivør it tiuk ø bit ø taim tø briø mø tø tstoelein point,
 apm ø bit løøø nér it ød ø dun sum ladz, øn bøfuer it did
 ad reøðer ø kwier ød-ventø(r). mi misis wør ø bit øv ø 80
 skriu, øn kød ádli þoil mø i-nif tø eit, su(e) a tiuk it át i
 siugø kandi ør out øt i laikt i tøp, øn nouø bød reit,
 noøðø(r). á iz ø grou-in lad tø þraiv bát džok? wel, it
 apmd wun sundø tmoønin øt i felt øøfl pekiø aftø mi
 brekføs, øn ad etn ivri moøsl up øt toud las put át. a 85
 døsnøt as fè nø müer ør els ast ø getn ø flø i mi iør-oil. ad
 getn dond redi fè tøsapil, fè toud las wø vari pø-tiklør ø-bát
 mø bi-in reit brout up, šu sed, if øø did pinø mø i vitlz. i
 ðem deøz ladz laik mī weø beløs-kaps wi taslz on, øn rønd
 krimpt koløz, øn al stand it a wør øs fain øz onibodi mi saiz, 90
 bød wot s ø dat wen ø tøsap s pinøt in iz džok. wel, it wø
 getin vari niø tøsapil taim, øn a niu a sød e tø meøtø i tfrunt
 ø Nati øn twaif, bød if jel bø-liv mø, ad ø dat kreevin i mi
 insaid a kød øv etn ø bit ø rainosøres, aid øn øøl. suø wot
 did i diu bød nip intø tøp tø get sumøt tø lain mi stumøk 95
 wol dine taim. a niu ad nø biznøs ðier ø sundøz, bød
 uøø(r), ø seø, iz ø šap þoøn, øn bi gou its triu. wel, a ednt
 bin i tøp ø minit wen i iød tmisis sinøn át—‘Džosiuø!
 Džosiuø!’ ø dat wø mi neøm, øn toud las wø sïkin mø. bød

100 a wə nuən bān tə liēv bāt sumət, su(ə) a seəz od əv ə šaiv ə
 unikeek ət toud las ius tə mak up tə sel—reit swit stuf it
 wo(r)—slapt it intə mi beləs-kap ət ə tsit, ən gat tə d'uə
 džust əs tmisis wə bə'ginin tə bel ət 'Džosiuə'! əgiən. su(ə)
 of wi set tə t'sapil. eə, diə(r)! it wə twāst diu ivər i ed,
 105 wə ədat. it wə reəðər ə wām moənin ən a wə swiətin laik ə
 brok fə fiə toud las səd səspekt sumət. a dēsnt tak mi kap
 of, kos a wə woəkin džust i tfrunt ə buəj tmeəstər ən
 tmisis, bəd it wər ə roki ruəd tə Džoədn, wə ədat woək! əz
 a wāmd up a kəd fil tunikeek storin ə mi iəd əz if it wə
 110 wik, bəd on a məd guə. ət last wi gat tə tprimativ şop, ən
 əf kuəs a ed tə dof mi beləs-kap. wel, wot wi twām
 moənin ən mī swiətin, tunikeek wə stuk fest on t'op ə mi
 iəd, ən wə bə'ginin tə swiəl dān tsaidz ə mi feəs tə ədat
 də·grī wol ad ə unikeek wig ən nuə mistak. a wiənt tel
 115 oəl id tə undəguə þriu ədat džob, bəd a bleəm tmisis fər it
 oəl i nət findin mə džok i·nif. av stoun moni ə anfl ə figz,
 ən reəzinz, ən þiəz ə ədat suet, if əde koəl it steilin, bəd ai
 duənt wen ə grou-in lad eznt i·nif grub gīn im, aftər iz adld
 it əz ai did wi Nati Belšə(r). eə wel; ā ədiəz ladiš teəlz kum
 120 təv ə bodiz maind; ən a nobəd menšn əm tə ſeu ət ladz—
 rasklz əz əde(r)—ānt suə wiðāt koez sumtaimz. əbez nuə
 tū weəz ə·bāt it; moni on əm əd bi vari difrnt if əde wə reit
 duin tul. am þiəkin ədes sum əv uz oud boiz ev ə lot tə
 ansə for i ədat biznəs. bəd a dārənt gu(ə) on ə bit lone(r),
 125 əde its kapin wot ə lot ə þiəz duz kum intəv ə tšaps iəd
 wol is smūkin ə paip ən þiəkin ə·bat bi-in tānd fisti.

VII.

TOUD SĀM TIUN.

sum kouks wāmd mi nīz wi ðə dul red iət
wen id swoləd mi milk ən pobz,
sue tlois up tə tfendər a pūld mi siət
ən a plantəd mi fit ə tobz.

ðen lītin mi šoet blak paip, a swur
reit bak i mi oud ām tšeə(r),
ən a sat wotšin trik əz it reəz ən un
laik ə spərit i tmidnīt eə(r).

sistə Mali ən tbānz wər e'slip upsteeəz—
ðə we piəs wi ðat bleətin kriu—
su(ə) a smūkt ən a þout ə mi weəstəd jiəz,
ən ə twāk et wə jət tə diu.

əz a liukt et ðis laif ən et tlaif tə bī,
a sed tə misen, “ðā as!
wi kumfət ða noəðə kēn liv nə dī,
fē ðas seəvd noəðə soul nə bras.”

ðen spai-in oud Seətn e'strайд ə t'lād
et wər un undə t'scəmə fluə(r),
a dubld mi neiv ən sed, “āk ðə, lad,
al bi didld wi ðī nə muə(r);

if mi sinz bi laik liəd, ən laik koək mi pēs,
wa ðəz nuəbdi bēd ðī tə þerək;
bēd wen twəldz ə wik ouda(r), ðā gēnin kēs,
as e bīn buəþ tə t'sətš ən tə tberək.”

5

10

15

20

ðen sum minits past oue mē, sad en drī,
en mi þouts griu ez dāk es tnit,
wen sum druknō oud alz et ed bīn on tsprī
kom sinin laik mad up tstrīt.

25

wi ðer anz en ðe fit ðe kept biætin t'aim
ez ðer āmz intē tee wē flur,
ee! en twēdz ev e godlēs en sili raim
tev en oud sām tiun ðe sur.

30

ai! t'aimz et iv džoind i ðat grand oud ee(r),
wen oud frenz et mi said wē sīn,
wen mi laif wēr e sunšaini alidē,
en ðis wiznd oud wēld wē grīn.

35

i tlīt ev e sun ets lor sin set
a sī t'sapil e P(r)imruəz Brā,
en wot frenz on e sabēj dee ðier ez met
et fēr ivēr es peetēd nā.

40

ðe kum en ðe smail en e·wee ðe pas,
bed ðe olēs liēv wun i viu—
e pue litl faðelēs kuntri las,
et wuns sat i tsin̄ez piu.

wun kām sumē nīt ez wē seō tlast im
šu liukt i mi feēs reit ād;
en e lips wē wait en er īn wē dim
wen i džoind er i t'sapil jād.

45

en šu sed tē me, "Ben, a fil feēnt en il,
ða mēn gi mē ði ām, oud lad;"
en šu wisped sum wēdz et i þink on stil,
fe ðe meēd mē reit prād en dlad.

50

su(ə) a elpt e wi keēr oue reēl en stail,
wol wē gat tev e geēdin due(r),
ðen šu eld mē bi tand sitš e lor, lor wail—
en a so(ə) er e·laiv nē muē(r).

55

wel, ðis wēld gets es koud en ez ād es stil,
 en et taimz a fil feən šez diəd,
 fe šed ād tē sleəv et e lium en wil
 fēr e moəsil e onist briəd.

60

muə nē twenti jiə šuz bin diəd en guən,
 bēd wiərivə mi lot mē bī,
 wen tās ez oēl wišt en im left e·luən,
 šu oləs kumz bak tē mī.

av wišt et id teld e bi tgeədin duə(r) 65
 ā dīp wē mi luv en triu,
 fēr e frenz, puə las, ðe wē feu en puə(r)—
 bēd nuə mate(r), a þiək še niu.

ā! if ivər i get tē jond pleəs əbūn,
 wiər i leə i mi āt tē bī, 70
 džust tē iər e wuns muə siə ðat oud sām tiun
 el bi evm əv itseln tē mī.

70

VIII.

TŠOET TAIMÈ(R).

it wə misti ən frosti ən dāk əz e buit,
ən sə koud jəd e pitid e tuəd,
wen i iəd tə mi þin̄kin e lit litl fuit
pit-patin bə-int mə e truəd.

nā, et faiv ər oef past, ev e koud wintə moən, 5
ad nuə þouts ev e kumreəd et oəl,
su(ə) a stuid wol ðə kom up e bit ev e bān,
laik e pegi-stik eərin e šoəl.

'olou, las,' a sed, eз a tapt ər e tkrān,
'ðal bi duin for i trivər e tkiln; 10
wot ātə, je muñki, ən wiər ātə bān?
sez šū, 'e šoət taimè tə tmiln.'

'if ðat meəstər e ðain z oni tšildə(r)' a sed,
'a sed laik əm tə meətš et ði bak;
bəd, a ges, if təd leəd ən āe lomər i bed 15
et treəd əd bə'gin tə bi slak.'

'ai! meəste,' šu sed, 'av iəd tguvnə swiər
et iz meəd nout bi t'reəd fə ðis eədž,
ən iz oəsəz ən karidžəz nips im sə beə
wol e ādli kən þoil tə gi weedž. 20

'ðen iz bout ən i'steət, ən iz bïldin e ās,
eə! ən tkost ont nə moətl noəz jət;
if wə pinš wol wə kubədz wiənt peəstər e mās
i kən nobəd džust stand on is fīt.

'i sez ferinəz latli əz meəd ə gēt sprinə, 25

ən ȳe liv on tšopt kabidž ən seəm;

su(ə) it uinz im, jə sī, tə šut bras laik ə kinə,

ən ȳen sel i tseəm meəkits wi ȳem.

'if wə duənt wēk fə litl, wi muənt wēk ət oəl,

ən mi granfaðə sed jəstənīt

if it wornt fə tšoet taiməz ət tsistm əd foəl,

ən tpliušəe kum bak intə tstrīt.'

a liukt of tī end ət ȳat wiznd oud bān,

ən a sed, 'it ə'piəz laik tə mī

ət tfaktri ən tmanšn ən tmeən ə tkonsān

əz upodn bi midžez laik ȳī. 35

iər a peətəd wi tbān, ən a kudnt bəd laf,

ȳo(ə) a felt nuən sə mitš ət mi iəz,

fər a þout tə miseln—its ə boni kum of

if wə propt bi sitš piləz əz ȳiəz. 40

IX.

NATERIN NAN.

nuə dāt jəl oəl əv iəd ə·bāt
təpolə Belvədiə(r),
ə stati þout bi sum tə bī
frə ivri feəlin tliə(r).

oəl reit ən streit i mak ən šap,
ə moud fə treəs ə men : 5
ə dānreit, upreit, beəup tšap,
net mitš unlaike misen.

nā, ðoe jə no(ə) iz nouit bəd stuən,
i liuks sə grand ən big, 10
ət litl dāst je pūl iz nuəz,
ə lug is twistəd wig.

pratli, reit pratli ouə tfluə(r)
ə tip-ə-tuez jə woək,
ən od jə briəþ fə vari oə,
ən wispe wen jə toək. 15

ðiez ðat ə·bāt im—bəd a noənt
net reitli ā tə seə t—
ət maks jə fil əz smoəl əs þivz
ə'nent ə madžistreet. 20

jəv sīn ðat dolt ə muki tleə
ə tfeəs ə Pudsə Duəz ;
toud madlin z woən it oəl iz laif,
ən fansid it ə nuəz.

jond props eż laik e peər e teñz
 e Saiksəz, jət, bi tmegz,
 wen i wə soubər eż e džudž
 av ied im koel əm legs.

su(ə) evm bi preezd fə self konsest ;
 wiðāt it, a səd seə,
 wist eət wəsen wi oəl wə mīt
 fər ivər ən e deə.

wen weəstəz liuks et tmābl god,
 īgoi! ā waid ȳe geəp,
 ən wundə witš ȳe feəvə tmuəst—
 e bogəd ər ən eəp.

ən sum wi envi ən wi spait
 get fild tə ȳat də·grī
 ȳəd nok iz nuez of, if ȳə dəst,
 e giv im e blak ī.

ī sumā kests e lit e þiñz
 et fouk nuən wonts tə sī;
 ȳez feu laiks telin wot ȳə āə(r),
 e wot ȳə out tə bī.

wa, wa, pə·fekšn nivə did
 tə Admz bānz bə·ler ;
 ən liuk et moətlz wen wə wil,
 wis find e sumət ren.

oud Adm gat sə mešt wi tfoəl
 et oəl e tiūmen reəs
 grouz sadli āt e šap i tmaind,
 i tkeəkəs, ən i tfeəs.

ȳez nuən sə blind bəd ȳə kñ sī
 e fout i uȳə men ;
 av sumtaimz met wi fouk et þout
 ȳə soə wun i ȳəsen.

25

30

35

40

45

50

55

ən tbest ə tšaps l find ðəsen
 ət taimz i tfouti tlas ;
 av dubld neiv ə·fuə tə-deə
 ət tful i tsim̄in dlas.

60

bəd twāst ə fouts ət aiv sīn jət,
 i wumən ər i man,
 is twiəri, neəgin, neəjin tēn
 ət pleəgd puə natərin Nan.

a went wun sumər aftənuin
 tə sī ə puər oud man.
 ən ādli ed i dākñd d'uə(r),
 wen twərit ðus bə·gan :

65

‘ee ! wa ! did ivə(r) ! wot ə triət
 tə sī ði faðəz sun ;
 kum forəd, lad, ən sit ðə dān,
 ən al set tketl on.’

70

‘neə, neə,’ a sez, ‘am nuən ə ðem
 ət koəlz ət t’aim bi t’lok,
 ən bumps əm dān i tkoənə tšeə(r),
 ən dluəz reit ād ət tdžok.’

75

· ðā nuənkeət, wi tə od ði tun ?
 il suin bi iər a þiŋk,
 sue, if tə l sit ən lit ði paip,
 al fotš ə suəp ə drin̄k.

80

‘oud las,’ sez ai, ‘ðat ei i buən,
 ən reeðə lou i bif.’
 ‘ai, bān,’ sez šū, ‘ðis jiər ə tū
 av ed ə diəl ə grif.

‘am nət ə wumən ət oft speiks,
 ə siŋz fouk duəlfli seŋz,
 bəd ai kñ tel mi maind tə ði,
 ða noəz wot þiŋz bə·len̄z.

85

‘ðaz nuetist ai nuen liukt se stat,
 en ai kn triuli see,
 frē tlast bak end e tjiē te nā
 av net bin wil e dee.

90

‘en wot wi sikhnes, wot wi grif,
 am duin ða mee di·pend—
 its bin e wiéri muild en teu,
 bēd nā it gets niē tend.

95

‘av bout oel tsister et i ev
 e blak mērainē gān;
 fouks þioks am reeli of, bēd, lad,
 am þenkfl et im bān.

100

wi twēld, en ivriþin et s int,
 am krost te ðat dē·grī
 et moni e taim i d'ee av preēd
 te lig mē dān en di.

‘wot aiv te tak frē tliest i tās
 eż muē nē fleš kēn biə(r);
 it iznt džust e taim bi tšons,
 bēd ivri de(ə) i tjiə(r).

105

nuē livin soul etop e tieþ
 wē traíd eż aiv bin traíd;
 ðez nuəbdi bēd ðe Loēd en mi
 et noəz wot iv ed te baid.

110

frē twind i tstumēk, triumetizm,
 en tenin peənz i tgium,
 frē kofs en kouds en tspain i tbak,
 av sufēd mātēdium.

115

bēd nuəbdi pitiz mē e þioks
 am eəlin out et oel;
 tpuē sleəv mēn tug en teu wi twāk
 wol ivə šū kēn kroēl.

120

'en Džoni z tmuəst unfilin briut
 et ivə weər e ied:
 i wodnt weg e and e fuit
 if ai wər oəl bəd died.

'i tmidst e oəl iv ed tə diu 125
 ðat ruəg wə nivə tman
 tə fotz e koil, e skāer e fleg,
 e weš e pot e pan.

'fouk sez āe Sal l suin bi wed,
 bəd tþouts ont tēnz mə sik ; 130
 ad reeðer iñ ər up bi tnek,
 e sī e bərid wik.

'en if i þout e bān e main
 wə boən tə liəd mai laif,
 a sudnt þiñk it wor e sin 135
 tə stik e wi mi naif.

'av ast āe Džoni twenti taimz
 tə brin e swip tə d'uə(r) ;
 bəd nā e fuər il speik e·giən
 al sit i tās en smuə(r) : 140

'en ðen—guid greišəs, wot e wind
 kumz wiuwin þriu d'uə snek ;
 a felt it oəl tləst wintə(r), laik
 e witl et mi nek.

'ðat siñk paip, tiu, gat stopt wi muk 145
 e·būn e fotnit sin,
 su(ə) ivri āer i d'ee wi tslops
 am trešin āt en in.

'oe! wen i þiñk ā aiv bin tret,
 en ā i teu en straiv— 150
 tə tel ðə tonist triuþ, am kapt
 tə find miseln e·laiv.

‘wen īz bin reəkin āt ə tnīt,
 ət tmeəkit ər ət tfeeə(r),
 sitš þouts əs kum intə mi iəd
 əz liftəd up mi eə(r).’

155

‘av þout, “ai, lad, wen tā kumz uəm,
 ðal find mə uə bi tnek ;”
 ən ðen av me bi þout ə·giən
 ət kuəd əd apm brek.’

160

‘ər els av mutəd, “if it wornt
 sə dāk, ən koud, ən wet,
 ad guə tə tnavi ə tə d'am
 ən drānd miseln tə-nīt.”

‘its grīf, lad, nout ət oəl bəd grīf,
 ət weəsts mə deə bi deə ;
 suə Seətn temps mə, kos im weək,
 tə put miseln ə·weə.’

165

toud tšap iəd peət ə wot še sed
 əz i kom tlompin in,
 ən šatəd in ə red feəst reədž,
 ‘od, rot it! od ði din.’

170

ðen Nan bə-gan tə froþ ən fium,
 ən fiz laik botld driŋk ;
 ‘wot, ðen, ðaz entəd tās ə·giən,
 ða ofld liukin sliŋk !’

175

‘ða nivə kumz ðiəz duəz wiðin
 bəd ðā mən kēs ən swiə(r),
 ən straiv tə briə mə tə mi greəv
 wi brīdin əriz iə(r).’

180

‘frə ði ən ðain sin wed wə wo(r)
 av teən nu(ə) end ə grīf,
 ən nā ða stamps mə undə tfuit,
 ðā məðərin ruəg ən þif.’

'ðā viln, gi mē wot i brout
 ðat de(ə) et wī wē wed,
 en nivē muē wi wun laik ɔi
 wil ai set fuit i bed.'

185

iē d'oudi liftēd tēv ər īn
 e jiēd e linin tšek,
 en sobd en ruēd en rokt əsen,
 eż if ər āt eđ brek.

190

en ɔen šu reēv reit up bi truits
 e anfl ev ər eə(r),
 en fitēd laik e dī in duk,
 en šutēd āt e t'see(r).

195

'aə! Džoni, run fē d'oktə(r), lad,
 a fil a kānt tel ā;
 sez Džoni, 'lit ɔi paip e'giēn
 šul kum e'bāt i-nā.'

200

bēd betēr ed it bīn fēr im
 if id niē stād e peg;
 mai geātēz! wot e poēz i gat
 frē Nanz riumatik leg.

suin, vari suin, šu kom e'bāt
 en flūn̄ en teēr en reēv,
 i sitš e we(ə) es feu kēd diu
 wi wun fuit i ɔe greev.

205

ðen at it went e tun̄ e'giēn
 ðat minit šu gat iez,
 'ðā viln, ða, ða noēz ɔi weēz
 briñz on sitš gēdz eż ɔiez.

210

'aə! if tēd straik mē stīf et wuns,
 e stab mē tē mi āt,
 a ðen kēd dī kontent, fē fouk
 wēd noē reit wot tē āt.

215

‘unfilin briut! unfilin briut!
a niø we wíl øn stroø;
ðez nobød wun þiø tšiez mø nā—
a kan nøt last sø long.

220

‘tø stand up fær ø þiø øt s reit
it iznt i mi neøtø(r);
ðez fouk øt noøz i oløs wo(r)
ø puø(r), soft, kwaiøt kriøtø(r).

‘wun þiø ai kñø seeø, if tø-nít
mi laif sød end it liøs,
av duin mi diuti øn ða noøz
av oløs strivm fø piøs.

225

‘a no(ø), a no(ø), øt im i tgeøt—
ðaz uðør uøts tø þreš,
suø, wen im duin fo(r), ðā mø wed
jond guid fø nouøt juø treš.’

230

ðen Nan püld sumøt øt ø d'roø(r),
wait øz ø sumø tlād,
sez ai tø Džoni, ‘wot s ðat ðiø(r)?’
sez Džoni, ‘its ø šrād.

235

‘øn kofin kom tiu, bød a sweø(r)
a wodnt et i tās;
suø wen šøz miuld ø seuz øt ðat,
øs kwaiøt øz ø mās.’

240

puø Nan liukt at mø wi ø liuk
sø jondøli øn sad:
‘ðal kum tø tbørin?’ ‘jøs,’ a sed,
‘a sal bi vari dlad.’

‘ðen bid ði muðø(r), Džoni kraïd,
‘øn as ði uøkl Ben;
øn oøl ø preøz fø sudn diaøp
sl e mibest “eømen.”’

245

NOTES.

The (·) denotes that the following syllable has the strong stress, thus *asem·ive* (I. 3), ·*aim* (I. 4). Before beginning the Specimens the reader is advised to read over §§ 249, 260, 341, 350 in the Grammar. In order to facilitate the reading of the Specimens, I have written *get up* instead of *ger up*, *wot iz it?* instead of *wor iz it?* etc. See § 290.

III.

Line 4, *fot for it.* 11, *jie* (§ 337). 17, on forms like *we(ə)* see § 193. 22, *ðie* see § 354. 26, *tmitin* *class meeting*, *prayer meeting*. 34, *nuen* (§§ 357, 399). 37, on *wel* beside *wil* see § 399. 63, *sum en mad* (lit. *some and mad*, a very common phrase) *very angry*. 73, *sits en e* (§ 340). 80, on (see page 73 note). 89, *bizm* (lit. *besom*) *good-for-nothing*. 99, *āez* read *āz* *ours*. 100, *wi e tlate(r)* and at the same time inflicted blows upon them. 101, *þinz* here used contemptuously of Grace's children. 106, *mel ne mak* pleonastic for *meddle*. 107, *ðe* (see page 112). 109, *en oel* (§ 399). 118, *Džemeeke Jamaica rum*.

IV.

Line 2, *eeles ale-house, beer-house.* 3, *də* (§ 390). 5, *ont of it.* 11, *Ned e oud Bilz Ned* (*the son of old Bill*). 14, *tšet* (§ 381). 23, *seðe* (lit. *see thee*) *look!* 34, *dän-tsteez* lit. *down the stairs*. 38, *strak* (§ 363). 52, *Bili* (§ 339). 88, *must* (§ 392). 108, *let* (§ 381). 128, *it* (§ 351).

V.

Line 14, tweivin šeed the weaving shed. 25, te thou (§ 350). 46, tes thou hast. 56, wišt hush! 104, tentri end the end of the passage. 136, like(r) (lit. liquor) drink.

VI.

Line 8, muild en broild struggled hard. 25, snikt cut. 32, wudn en (lit. wooden one) coffin. 42, if se ednt e ed (lit. if she had not have had) if she had not had. This construction only occurs in subordinate sentences, and has probably arisen from contamination with such phrases as, šud or šed e dunt she would have done it; tladz ed e guen the boys would have gone. We generally say ad e lend jet if jed nobed e ast me I would have lent you it, if you had only (have) asked me. Cp. the end of §§ 389, 397. 48, we dān e wun fuit was down of one foot, i. e. one of her legs was longer than the other. 59, kut mi stiks make myself scarce. 86, e flī i mi ier-oil a box on the ears. 93, ðat, see § 399. 100, seez (§ 382). med (§ 392).

VII.

Line 53, stail is the lit. Engl. form, see § 315. The same is also the case with midžez (VIII. 36).

IX.

After line 200 the following four lines have been inadvertently omitted in our Specimen:—

sez ai, 'a nivə so(ə) e tšap
se iəzifi en fat;
ðal siueli len e elpin and
te lift er of e tplat.'

INDEX.

[The alphabetical order in the Index is:—**a**, **b**, **d**, **e**, **ə**, **f**, **g**, **i**, **j**, **k**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **ɒ**, **o**, **p**, **r**, **s**, **š**, **t**, **þ**, **ʊ**, **v**, **w**, **z**, **ž**.

The numbers after a word refer to the paragraphs in the Grammar. When no number occurs after a word it means that the word occurs only in the Specimens.]

a *I*, 350.
ā *how*, 171, 399.
abed *yes but*, 291.
abit *habit*, 194.
ād *hard*, 61.
Adkisn *Atkinson*, 267, 291.
adl *to earn*, 57, 257.
ādli *hardly*, 399.
ādn *to harden*, 61, 247.
āe(r) *our*, 172, 351.
āe(r) *hour*, 236.
āe(r) *are*, 61.
afte(r) *after*, 57, 400.
ai *I*, 95, 350.
ai *yes*, 399.
aid *hide*, 175, 361.
aidl *idle*, 156.
aien *iron*, 157, 259.
aie(r) *to hire*, 176.
aim *hoarfrost*, 156, 258.
ain *hind*, 156, 268, 303.
ais *ice*, 156.
ais-šaklz *icicles*.
aiv *hive*, 175, 283.
ā-ive(r) *however*, 399.

aivi *ivy*, 156.
akoēn *acorn*, 57.
aks *axe*, 57.
aks (as) *to ask*, 125, 312.
aktli *actually*, 194, 247.
al *I will*, 250.
āl *owl*, 171.
āl *to howl*, 235.
ali *aisle, alley*, 194.
alide *holiday*, 125, 243.
alz *fools*.
am *am*, 57.
am *ham*, 57.
ām *arm*, 61.
ām *harm*, 61.
ame(r) *hammer*, 57, 243.
amet *am not*, 272, 396.
āmive(r) *however*, 171, 399.
and *hand*, 57.
ānd *hound*, 115.
anfl *handful*, 299.
anl *handle*, 57, 247, 298.
āns *ounce*, 235, 337.
ansem *handsome*, 299.
anse(r) *answer*, 57, 251.

antm *anthem*, 57, 286.
anvil *anvil*, 57.
anz *hands*, 302, 310.
ap *to wrap up (with clothes)*, 57, 317.
āp *harp*, 61.
apl *apple*, 57, 247.
apm (*lit. happen*) *perhaps*, 270, 399.
apren *apron*, 196.
are *arrow*, 57, 243.
arend *notoriously bad*, 207.
arend *spider*, 194, 304.
as *ash, ashes*, 57, 312, 337.
as (aks) *to ask*, 125, 312.
ās *house*, 171, 310.
āsemive(r) *howsoever*, 399.
ask *dry, rough, harsh*, 312.
as-midin *ash-pit*, 57, 312.
at hat, 57.
āt heart, 74.
āt out, 171.
āt thou art, 61.
avek *havoc*, 194, 322.
ave(r)-meil *oat-meal*, 57.
āvis, *āvist harvest*, 61, 245, 292.
āz ours, 352.

bā *to bow*, 171, 315.
bad *bad*, 144, 343.
bad (*pret.*) *invited*, 57, 373.
bai *to buy*, 315, 382.
baid *to endure, put up with, wait, stop, remain*, 156, 361.
bait *to bite*, 156, 361.
bak *back*, 57.
bāk *bark*, 61, 312.
bāk *to bark*, 74.
bake *tobacco*, 246.
baked *backward*, 243.

bakedz *backwards*, 251.
bākm *collar of a horse*, 74, 315.
bak-stn *the iron plate on which oat cakes are baked*, 70.
baleks *testiculi*, 243.
bāli *barley*, 61, 245.
bām *barm*, 74.
ban (*pret.*) *bound*, 57, 301.
bān *child*, 61, 259, 280.
bān *barn*, 74.
bān *going*, 171, 303.
band *string, cord*, 57.
bāns *to bounce*, 115.
bānti *bounty*, 235.
bare *barrow*, 57, 243.
baril *barrel*, 194.
bas *door mat, hassock*, 57.
bastail *workhouse, union*, 234, 243.
basted *bastard*, 195, 243.
bāt *about, without*, 171, 242, 246, 289, 400.
bāp *bath*, 57, 306.
bed *bed*, 73.
bed-steid *bedstead*, 87.
beebe(r) *barber*, 203.
beed *to bathe*, 70, 308.
beedž *barge*, 203.
beegs *bargain*, 203, 247, 271.
beek *to bake*, 70, 312.
beekes *bakehouse*, 243.
beeks *bacon*, 204, 247.
beel *bale*, 204.
beeli *bailiff*, 204, 245.
been *near, direct*, 84.
bee(r) *bare*, 70.
bee(r) (pret.) *bore*, 70, 369.
bees *bass*, 195.
beet *bait*, 84.
beet *to abate*, 246.

beetē(r) to barter, 203.
bef to cough, 73, 280.
beg bag, 59, 315.
beg to beg, 73.
beid bead, 87.
bek beck, 73, 280, 312.
bel bell, 73.
bele to bellow, 73, 315.
beles-cap a cap bordered or adorned with lace.
belesez bellows, 73, 338.
beli belly, 73, 245.
belt belt, 73.
bend to bend, 73, 381.
ber to throw, hit violently, 59, 280.
berk bank, bench, 59, 73, 312.
ber-up very good, excellent.
besk to bask, 60, 306, 310, 312.
best best, 73, 343.
besfl bashful, 197.
betē(r) better, 73, 343.
bezl to embezzle, 206, 246.
be by, 400.
bed but, 174, 291, 401.
bēd bird, 90, 261.
bēdn burden, 120, 306.
be-eov to behave, 70.
be-fue(r) before, 242, 400.
be-gan began, 57.
be-gin to begin, 89, 242, 315, 367.
be-gun begun, 111.
be-int behind, 305, 400.
bēk birch, 90, 259, 312.
be-kos because, 225, 401.
bēl to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or cloth, 228.
bēl āt to draw or pour out (drink to or for any one), 120.
be-lief belief, 179.
be-liv to believe, 150.
bēn to burn, 74, 261, 382.
berē borough, 113.
beri berry, 81, 245, 315.
beri to bury, 120, 245, 258, 315.
be-said besides, 400.
be-twin between, 187, 400.
bēp birth, 120, 259.
bi by, 160, 400.
bi bee, 187.
bi to be, 187, 396.
bid to invite to a funeral, 89, 280, 300, 303.
bied beard, 68, 259.
biek beak, 231, 322.
biem beam, 178.
bien bean, 179.
bie(r) to bear, 75, 260, 369.
bie(r) beer, 188.
bies, **biest** beast, cow, 231, 292, 338, 381.
biet to beat, 179, 381.
bif beef, 232.
big big, large, 89, 315.
bi gou, **bi goi** a kind of oath.
bi gum a kind of oath.
bi-int, **be-int** behind, 89, 305.
bild to build, 119, 254, 381.
bin within, 89, 268, 400.
bīn been, 187, 396.
bi nā by this time, 399.
bind to bind, 89, 367.
bin a bin, 89, 273.
bit a bit, 89, 289.
bite(r) bitter, 89.
bi tmegs a kind of oath.
bitn bitten, 89.
bits bitch, 89, 312.
biu bough, 164, 315.

biuti *beauty*, 237.
 bizi *busy*, 117.
 bizm *bosom*, 79, 310.
 biznes *business*, 89, 310.
 blak *black*, 57.
 blast *blast*, 135.
 bleb *blister*, 280.
 bled *bled*, 148.
 bleed *blade*, 70.
 bleem *blame*, 204.
 bleen *blain*, *boil*, 268.
 bleet *to bleat*, 133.
 bleetin kriu *noisy children*.
 bleez *blaze*, *to blaze*, 70, 310.
 bleg *blackberry*, 59, 314.
 bleitš *to bleach*, 138, 312.
 blemiš *blemish*, 327.
 blend *to blend*, 73.
 blenk *blank*, 197, 322.
 blenkit *blanket*, 197, 245,
 322.
 bles *to bless*, 148.
 bleðe(r) *bladder*, 134, 243,
 297.
 blid *to bleed*, 147, 381.
 blier-íd *blear-eyed*, 300.
 blind *blind*, 89.
 blis *bliss*, 89.
 bliu *blew*, 190, 239.
 blium *bloom*, 164.
 bliuz (pl.) *delirium tremens*,
 239.
 blob *a bubble*, *bulb*, 100,
 254.
 bloe *to blow*, 123, 250, 377.
 blom *blossom*, 169, 310.
 bluid *blood*, *to bleed*, 163,
 381.
 bluid ali, see § 346 note.
 blus *to blush*, 121.
 bluðe(r) *to cry*, *weep*, 111,
 280, 297.

bodi *body*, 110, 245, 315.
 bodm *bottom*, 100, 247, 264,
 286.
 boek *balk*, *beam*, 62, 312.
 boel *ball*, 198.
 boeld *bald*, 62, 254.
 boem *balm*, 198.
 boen *born*, 104, 259.
 boged *ghost*, 280.
 boil *bole of a tree*, 109.
 boil *to boil*, 216.
 boks *box*, 100.
 boni *nice*, *pretty*, 214, 245.
 bore *to borrow*, 100, 243,
 315.
 botni *Botany wool*.
 bou *bow*, 315.
 boud *bold*, 64.
 boul *bowl*, 103, 220.
 boustə(r) *bolster*, 103.
 bout *bolt*, 103.
 bout *bought*, 101, 318.
 brā *brow*, 171.
 braid *bride*, 175.
 braidl *bridle*, 156.
 brain *brine*, 175.
 brak (pret.) *broke*, 57, 369.
 brakn *a kind of fern*, 57.
 brān *brown*, 171.
 bran niu *quite new*, 57, 301.
 branš *branch*, 195, 327.
 bras *brass*, 57.
 brast (pret.) *burst*, 57, 367.
 brat *pinafore*, 57.
 braznt *brazen*, *impudent*,
 57.
 bred *bred*, 148.
 bree *to beat*, *pound*, 204.
 breed *to resemble*, *act like*
 another person, 84, 315.
 breen *brain*, 65, 315.
 breg *to brag*, 59, 315.

breitš *a breach*, 87, 312.
 brek *to break*, 88, 258, 312,
 369.
 bren (pret.) *brought*, 59, 368.
 brest *breast*, 192.
 brīd *to breed*, 147, 381.
 briēd *bread*, 179.
 briēd-fleik *a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried*, 87,
 312.
 briēdþ *breadth*, 137.
 briēþ *breath*, 131.
 briēð *to breathe*, 131, 306.
 brig *bridge*, 117, 280, 315.
 brigz *a trivet*, 315, 338.
 brim *rim*, 117.
 brim *to put the boar to the sow*, 89, 263.
 brimstn *brimstone*, 117, 247.
 brin *to bring*, 89, 258, 273,
 367, 368.
 brit *bright*, 93, 261, 318.
 britš *breech*, 312.
 britšež *breeches*, 149.
 briu *to brew*, 190, 250, 382.
 briuk *brook*, 164, 312.
 brium *broom*, 164.
 broitš *to broach*, 219.
 brok *badger*.
 brokn *broken*, 100, 247, 271.
 broþ *broth*, 100, 338.
 brut *brought*, 167, 318.
 bruēd *broad*, 122.
 bruets *brooch*, 218.
 bruid *brood*, 163.
 bruslz *bristles*, 121, 287.
 brusn (pp.) *burst*, 287.
 brust *to burst*, 261, 367.
 bruðe'r) *brother*, 169.
 bued *board*, 104, 259.
 buekn *to belch, retch*, 105,
 271.

buen *bone*, 122.
 buē(r) *boar*, 122.
 buet *boat*, 122.
 buęþ *both*, 122.
 buin *boon*, 163.
 buit *to boot*, 163.
 buit *boot*, 221.
 buið *booth*, 163, 306.
 buizm *bosom*, 163, 247.
 buk *buck*, 111.
 bük *book*, 164.
 bük (bükþ) *bulk, size*, 112,
 256.
 bukit *bucket*, 226.
 bul *bull*, 111.
 buldž *to bulge*, 226.
 bulék *bullock*, 111, 243.
 bulit *bullet*, 227, 245.
 bum-beeli *bailiff*, 204.
 bun (pp.) *bound*, 111, 280,
 301.
 bün *above*, 283, 400.
 bunl *bundle*, 121.
 busk, *to go about from place to place singing and playing for money*, 174, 312.
 busl *to bustle*, 111, 287.
 bušl *bushel*, 227.
 bute(r) *butter*, 111, 243.
 butn *button*, 226.
 butše(r) *butcher*, 227.
 buzed *butterfly*, 226, 243,
 291, 310.

-d *had*, 395.
 -d *would*, 256, 397.
 dāe(r) *to dare*, 61, 390.
 daft *foolish, silly, cowardly*,
 57.
 daik *dike, ditch*, 156, 312.
 daiv *to dive*, 175, 283, 295,
 361.

dāk *dark*, 74.
dākr *to enter*.
dālin *darling*, 189, 259.
dam *large pond of water*, 57.
damidž *damage*, 194, 245,
328.
dān *to darn*, 61.
dān *down*, 171, 400.
dān-reit *downright*.
dāst *dust*, 171.
dāt *doubt*, 235.
dee *day*, 65, 315.
deel *dale*, 70.
deendže(r) *danger*, 204.
deenti *dainty*, 204.
deet *to dart*, 203.
deet *date*, 204.
deevi *affidavit*, 204, 246.
deezi *daisy*, 65.
deg *to sprinkle with water*,
59, 315.
dein *dean*, 234.
delf *a stone quarry*, 73, 283.
delv *to delve*, 73, 283.
demek *potato disease*, 206,
246.
demekt *diseased (of pota-
toes)*, 206.
der (pret.) *reviled, re-
proached*, 59, 367.
depp *depth*, 192.
det *debt*, 206.
deu *dew*, 180, 250, 295.
de do, 398.
dēnsnt *durst not*, 287.
dēst *durst*, 113, 259, 390.
di do, 398.
dī *to die*, 79, 295.
dī *to dye*, 150, 315.
did *did*, 117.
didl *to cheat, deceive*, 117.
diēd *dead*, 179, 295.

diēf *deaf*, 179.
diel *deal, to deal*, 137, 382.
die(r) *dear*, 188.
diep *death*, 179, 306.
dif-rnt *different*, 247.
dig *to dig*, 89, 315, 373.
dim *dim*, 89.
dīm *to deem*, 147.
din *din*, 117.
dine(r) *dinner*, 211.
din up *to reproach, revile*,
76, 367, 368.
dip *to dip*, 117.
dīp *deep*, 187.
disiet *deceit*, 231, 234.
disiev *to deceive*, 231, 244.
distēb *to disturb*, 228.
diš *dish*, 89.
diđe(r) *to tremble, shiver
with cold*, 89, 297.
diu *to do*, 164, 398.
diu *due*, 237.
dium *doom*, 164.
diuti *duty*, 237.
divae(r) *to devour*, 236.
divl *devil*, 192.
dizai(r) *desire*, 230.
dizi *dizzy*, 117, 245, 315.
dizml *dismal*, 211.
dlad *glad*, 57, 315.
dlaid *to glide*, 156, 361.
dlāmi *sad, downcast*, 171,
315.
dlas *glass*, 57, 310, 315.
dlazn *to glaze*, 57, 310.
dlazne(r) *glazier*, 57.
dlee(r) *to stare hard*, 70.
dlī *glee*, 187.
dliem *gleam*, 137.
dlite(r) *to glitter*, 89.
dlium *gloom*, 164, 315.
dlou *to glow*, 166, 250.

dliue(r) to stare, 165, 260, 315.
dlueri glory, 224.
dlumpi sulky, morose, 315.
dlutn glutton, 226.
dluv glove, 169.
doəb to daub, smear, 225.
Doed George, 329.
doen dawn, to dawn, 63, 315.
doen down, feathers, 173.
dof to undress, 100, 295.
dog dog, 100, 315.
doi joy, darling, a pet word applied to children, 329.
doit to dote, 219.
dokn a dock, 100, 247.
dolep lump of dirt, 278.
dolt lump of dirt, 100.
don to dress, 100, 268, 295.
dons dance, 200.
doudi a scolding, irritable woman.
doute(r) daughter, 101, 318.
draft draught, draft, 57, 319.
drai dry, 175, 315.
draip to drip, 175, 278.
draiv to drive, 156, 283, 361.
drānd to drown, 115, 304.
drāzi drowsy, 171.
dreęg to drawl, 70, 315.
dreęk drake, 70, 312.
dreet to drawl, 295.
dreg to drug, 59, 315.
dregn dragon, 197.
dregz dregs, 73, 315.
drenš to drench, 73, 277, 312.
drenk drank, 59.
dri dreary, gloomy, tedious, 150, 315.
dried to dread, 131.

driem dream, 179, 382.
drieri dreary, 188.
drift drift, 89.
drink to drink, 89, 273, 312, 367.
driu drew, 164, 315.
drivm driven, 89.
droę to draw, 63, 315, 375.
drop drop, 100.
druen drone, 122.
druev (noun) drove, 122.
druft drought, 174, 315.
drukn drunk, drunken, 111, 247, 368.
dub a small pool of water, 111.
dabl double, 226, 348.
dudz clothes.
due doe, 122.
Dued Joe, 329.
duef dough, 122, 315.
duefi cowardly, 122, 315.
duel dole, 122.
due(r) door, 113.
Duez, Duezi Joshua, 329.
duin done, 163, 398.
dul dull, 107.
dum dumb, 111.
dun to urge for payment, 111.
dun done, 398.
dun dung, 111.
duv dove, 174, 283.
duz dost, does, 169, 310.
duzn dozen, 226.
dwäf dwarf, 74, 250, 315.
dwinl to dwindle, 160, 250, 266, 298.
džais joist, 229, 292, 310, 328.
dželes jealous, 206, 243, 328.
dželi jelly, 206, 328.

džen-rl *general*, 247.
džēni *journey*, 228.
džoəm *the side post of a door or chimney piece*, 225, 328.
džoenes *jaundice*, 225, 243, 328.
džogl *to shake*, 100.
džoi *joy*, 216.
džoint *joint*, 216, 328.
dšok *food*.
džoli *jolly*, 214.
džosl *to jostle*, 214.
džoul *to knock, strike*, 254, 328.
džudž *judge*, 226.
džust *just*, 226.

e *have*, 283, 395.
eb *ebb*, 73.
ed *had*, 60, 395.
edikéet *to educate*, 242.
edž *edge*, 73.
edž *hedge*, 73.
eø *hay*, 153.
eøbl *able*, 204.
eedž *age*, 204, 328.
eeg *the berry of the hawthorn*, 70, 315.
eegifai *to argue, dispute*, 326.
eøke(r) *acre*, 70, 337.
eøl *ale*, 70.
eøl *hail*, 65, 315.
eøm *to aim, intend*, 204.
eenšn *ancient*, 204, 247, 269, 293, 327.
ee(r) *hair*, 133.
ee(r) *hare*, 70.
eøt *art, skill*, 203.
eøt *to hate*, 70.
efe(r) *heifer*, 186, 318.
eft *haft*, 73, 283, 317.
eg *to urge on, incite*, 73, 315.

eg *egg*, 73, 315.
egrivéet *to aggravate*, 326.
ei *high*, 182, 318.
eit *to eat*, 87, 372.
eit *eight*, 67, 318, 344.
eit' *eighth*, 67, 344.
eit height, 153, 318.
eiti *eighty*, 344.
eitin *eighteen*, 344.
eitint *eighteenth*, 344.
eitit *eightieth*, 344.
el *hell*, 73.
elde(r)-tri *elder*, 73.
elm *elm*, 73.
elp *to help*, 73, 278, 383.
els *else*, 73, 357.
elte(r) *halter*, 60, 283.
em *hem*, 73.
emti *empty*, 143, 245, 279.
en *hen*, 73.
end *end*, 73.
en (w. verb) *to hang*, 59, 382.
en (pret.) *hung*, 59, 367.
enk *hank*, 59, 312.
enke(r) *anchor*, 59.
enkl *anacle*, 59.
ement (*lit. hangment*), used in the phrase : wot ðe em-
ment ? *what the duce?* See page 112.
esked *newt, eft*, 60, 312.
esp *hasp*, 73.
espin *aspin*, 60.
eš *ash-tree*, 59, 312.
etn *eaten*, 73.
ets to *hatch*, 60, 312.
eu *eve*, 85, 250.
eu *to hew*, 180, 250, 382.
eu *yew*, 190, 250.
ev *have*, 60, 283, 395.
evi *heavy*, 73, 245, 315.
evm *even*, 270.

evm *heaven*, 73, 247, 283.
ez *hast, has*, 60, 283.

ē a, an, 128, 340.
ē on, 272, 400.
ē of, 283, 400.
ē he, 350.
ē have, 283, 395.
ē-bāt *about, without*, 171, 242, 400.
ē-blīdž *to oblige*, 229.
ē-būn *above*, 112, 242, 283, 400.
ēd had, 395.
ēd would, 397.
ēd herd, 90.
ēdl hurdle, 120.
ēd-vais *advice*, 229.
ēd-vaiz *to advise*, 229.
ē-fled *afraid* 131, 242.
ē-fued *to afford*, 104, 242, 306.
ē-fue(r) *before*, 104, 242, 400.
ē-geet *in action, at work*, 70, 242.
ē-gien *again, against*, 179, 242, 400.
ē-grī *to agree*, 232, 242.
ē-gue *ago*, 122, 242.
ē-kānt *account*, 235.
ē-kin *akin*, 117, 242, 312.
ē-kos *because*, 225, 242.
ē-kuedinlái *accordingly*, 242, 399.
ēl will, 397.
ē-lā *to allow*, 235.
ē-laiv *alive*, 156, 242.
ē-ler *ē along of, on account of*, 400.
(ē)levm *eleven*, 81, 344.
(ē)levnt *eleventh*, 344.
ē-luēn *alone*, 122, 242.

ēm=m *them*, 264, 350.
ē-mānt *amount*, 235.
ē-mērō *among*, 59, 242, 400.
ēn an, 128.
ēn one, 345.
ēn and, 301, 401.
ē-nent *anent, opposite*, 73, 242, 283, 400.
ē-noi *to annoy*, 216, 242.
ē-plai *to apply*, 229, 242.
ē(r) or, 128, 401.
ē(r) her, 91, 350, 351.
ēri *row, disturbance, noise*, 113, 245.
ē-said *besides*, 400.
ē-sem̄l *to assemble*, 206, 242, 282.
ē-sen, -sel, -seln *herself*, 353.
ē-stiēd *instead*, 82, 242, 267, 400.
ēt (rel. pr. and conj.) *that*, 356, 401.
ēt *to hurt*, 228, 381.
ē top ē (lit. *on top of*) *upon*.
ēv have, 283, 395.
ēv of, 400.
ē-wee *away*, 84, 242.
ēz us, 310, 350.
ēz as, 310.
ēz hers, 352.
fādin *farthing*, 189, 245, 276, 306.
fadm *fathom*, 57, 247, 306.
fāe(r) far, 74.
faiē(r) fire, 176.
fail file, 156.
fain fine, 229.
faiv five, 156, 283, 344.
Fakle Thackley, 306.
fakt (pl. *faks*) *fact*, 194, 322.
fāl foul, *ugly*, 171.

fāl fowl, 114, 315.
fāle fallow, 57, 243.
fan fan, 57.
fan (pret.) *found*, 57, 301.
fān fern, 61.
fasn to *fasten, conclude a bargain by paying earnest money*, 57, 247, 287, 310.
fat fat, 144, 289.
fāt pedere, 74.
faðe(r) father, 71, 243, 283, 297.
fed fed, 148.
feed to fade, 204.
feek trick, deception, 127.
feel to fail, 204.
feen fain, glad, 65, 315.
feent to faint, 204.
fee(r) fair, 65, 315.
fee(r) to fare, 70.
fees face, 204.
feep faith, 204.
feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, 204.
feeve(r) fever, 84.
feit to fight, 86, 289, 318, 367.
fel to fell, 73.
fel (pret.) *fell*, 192.
felt (noun) *felt*, 73.
felt (pret.) *felt*, 148.
felte(r) to entangle.
fend to *provide for oneself*, 206.
fent remnant of a piece of cloth, 206.
fešn fashion, 197, 247, 269, 327.
fest fast, firm, 60.
feðe(r) feather, 73, 306.
feu few, 180, 250, 283, 357.
fezn pheasant, 206, 269, 293, 310.
fed third, 306.
fe-getn (pp.) *forgot*, 242.
fēniš to furnish, 228.
fēnite(r) furniture, 228, 243, 288.
fe(r) for, 400.
fere furrow, 113, 243, 258, 318.
feri first, 346.
ferin foreign, 224, 245.
ferinez foreigners.
fe-sak to forsake, 376.
fe-seen forsaken, 312.
fēst first, 120, 309, 344.
fid to feed, 147, 381.
fidl fiddle, 89, 296.
fielb feeble, 231.
fiel(r) fear, 131.
fies fierce, 233.
fiest feast, 231.
fletfeat, 231.
flete(r) feature, 231, 288.
fift fifth, 160, 289, 309, 344.
fifti fifty, 160, 344.
fiftin fifteen, 344.
fiftint fifteenth, 344.
fiftit fiftieth, 344.
fig-wet figwort, 120, 243.
filk fickle, 89, 312.
fil to fill, 117.
fil to feel, 147, 382.
field field, 78, 254.
filep to beat, flog, 278.
film film, 89, 264.
filp filth, 177.
fin fin, 89.
find to find, 89, 300, 367, 368.
find fiend, 187.
finiš to finish, 211, 327.

fine(r) finger, 89, 273.
flink to think, 306.
fpms fivepence, 160, 247,
 270.
flš fish, 89, 312, 337.
fit ready, prepared, 89.
fit feet, 147.
file(r) to kick the feet about.
fuil fuel, 237.
flute(r) future, 237, 243, 253,
 288.
flæ(r) flower, flour, 236.
flaks flax, 57.
flände(r) a small flat fish.
flask flask, 57.
flat flat, 57.
flee to frighten, 283.
flee to skin, 183.
fleek flake, 70, 312.
fleem flame, 204.
fleer up to get into a rage.
fleg flag, 59.
flen (pret.) threw, 59, 367.
fleš flesh, 143, 312.
fli to fly, 187, 315.
fli fly, 187, 315.
fiem phlegm, 206.
file(r) to laugh or sneer at,
 98.
fig to fledge, 117, 315.
fiik fitch of bacon, 89, 254,
 312.
fileke(r) to flicker, 89, 312.
flint flint, 89.
fin to fling, throw, 76, 367,
 368.
flis fleece, 187.
flit to remove, 117.
flit flight, 118, 318.
flu flue, 239.
flog to flog, 315.
flok flock, 100, 312.

flop to fall suddenly; **flop**
 ouę tied to pull the bed-
 clothes over one's head.
flou to flow, 166, 250.
floun flown, 102, 315.
flue(r) floor, 165.
fluet to float, 105.
fluid flood, 163.
flumeks to confound, cheat,
 283.
flute(r) to flutter, 107.
foefit to forfeit, 223.
foek fork, 104, 312.
foel to fall, 62, 254, 379.
foel a veil, 62.
foem form, 223.
foe-nuin drinkin luncheon.
foetn fortune, 223, 247, 288.
fog aftergrass, 100, 315.
foil foal, 109, 283.
foisti fusty, 226.
foks fox, 100.
foks-dluv foxglove, 107.
fole to follow, 100, 243, 315.
fols false; in reference to a
 child implying that it is
 shreud and witty beyond
 its years, 58, 225.
fond fond, 100.
fo(r) for, 400.
fored forward, 243, 251.
forediš rather forward, 243.
foste(r) foster, 169.
foti forty, 192, 344.
fotit fortieth, 344.
fotn (pp.) fought, 100, 101,
 247.
fotnit fortnight, 93, 192, 245.
fots to fetch, 80, 312.
foðe(r) fodder, 169, 297.
foud fold, 64, 238.
fouę(r) four, 190, 344.

fouet *fourth*, 190, 309, 344.
 fouetin *fourteen*, 190, 344.
 fouetint *fourteenth*, 344.
 fouk *folk*, 103, 283.
 fout *fault*, 199, 256, 283.
 frai *to fry*, 229.
 fraide *Friday*, 156.
 frān *to frown*, 235.
 frats̄ *to quarrel*.
 fre *from*, 400.
 freem *to make a start or begin*, 70, 283.
 frend *friend*, 192.
 frenz *friends*, 302.
 fres̄ *fresh*, 73, 312.
 fre *from*, 400.
 fri *free*, 187.
 friet *to fret, mourn over*, 82, 381.
 frig *coire*, 315.
 frít *fright*, 118, 261, 318.
 friut *fruit*, 239.
 friz *to freeze*, 187, 365, 366.
 froed *fraud*, 225.
 frog *frog*, 100, 315.
 frost *frost*, 100.
 froþ *froth, to foam*, 100, 306.
 frozn *frozen*, 100, 247, 269, 310.
 frunt *front*, 226.
 fuld *to confuse*, 283.
 fuedž *to forge*, 223, 328.
 fuem *foam*, 122.
 fue(r) *before*, 400.
 fues *force*, 223.
 fuid *food*, 163.
 ful *foo!*, 221.
 fuit (*pl. fit*) *foot*, 163, 336, 337.
 ful *full*, 111.
 fulle(r) *fuller*, 111.
 fuml *to fumble*, 282.

fun (*pp.*) *found*, 111, 301.
 fus *fuss*, 174.
 fuzi *soft, spongy*, 283, 310.
 ga *gave*, 283.
 gab *impudence*, 57, 280, 315.
 gad *to gossip*, 57.
 gäl *the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye*, 326.
 galek *lefthand*, 194, 248, 326.
 galep *to gallop*, 194, 243.
 gales *gallows*, 57, 315.
 galesez *braces*, 254, 328.
 galn *gallon*, 194, 337.
 gam *game, to gamble*, 57, 263.
 gami *lame*, 263.
 gān *gown*, 235.
 gane(r) *gander*, 57, 243, 298, 315.
 garit *garret*, 194, 326.
 gat (*pret.*) *got*, 57.
 gät *gout*, 235.
 gavlek *crowbar*, 71, 315.
 gee *gay*, 204.
 geed *guard*, 203.
 geedn *garden*, 203.
 geen *gain*, 315.
 geen *near, direct*, 84, 315.
 geep *to gape*, 70, 315.
 geet *gate*, 70, 315.
 geete(r) *garter*, 203, 326.
 geg *to gag*, 59, 315.
 gen *gang*, 59.
 gen-wee *thoroughfare, passage*, 59.
 ges *to guess*, 206.
 gest *guest*, 315.
 get *to get*, 88, 315, 372.
 getn (*pp.*) *got*, 73, 286.
 geðe(r) *to gather*, 60, 243, 297.
 gezlin *gosling*, 148, 245, 276.
 gēd *fit, bout*.

gēdl *girdle*, 120.
 gēn *to grin*, 74, 261.
 gēs *grass*, 69, 261.
 gēsl *gristle*, 90, 261, 286, 315.
 gēt *great*, 185, 261, 289.
 gēts *lit. greats*, 177.
 gēþ *girth*, 306.
 gi *give*, 283.
 gidi *giddy*, 89.
 gien *against*, 400.
 gie(r) *gear*, 68.
 gift *gift*, 89, 283.
 gild *to gild*, 119.
 gilt *a young female pig*, 89, 315.
 gimlit *gimlet*, 211, 243.
 = gīn *given*, 79, 283.
 ginl *a long narrow uncovered passage*, 247.
 gīs *geese*, 147, 310.
 gium *gum*, 164.
 giv, gi *to give*, 77, 315, 372.
 gizn *to choke*, 211, 326.
 gizn *gizzard*, 211.
 God *God*, 100.
 goeki *left-handed*, 198.
 goel *gall*, 62.
 goem *heed, care, attention*, 184.
 goemles *silly, stupid*, 184.
 goit *channel, mill-stream*, 109, 289, 315.
 gol *goal*, 217, 326.
 gosep *gossip*, 91.
 gospl *gospel*, 100.
 goud *gold*, 103, 315.
 graim *soot (on the kettle)*, 156.
 graip *to gripe*, 156.
 gran-faðe(r), gram-faðe(r) *grandfather*, 194, 299.
 grant *to grant*, 195, 326.
 gree *gray*, 133, 315.

greenz (pl.) *malt which has been used in brewing beer*, 204, 338.
 grees *grace*, 204.
 greet *grate*, 204.
 greev *grave*, 70, 283.
 greez *to graze*, 70, 310.
 gridi *greedy*, 130.
 gries *grease*, 231.
 grif *grief*, 232.
 grīn *green*, 147, 315.
 grind *to grind*, 89.
 grip *grip*, 89.
 grit *to greet*, 147.
 griu *grew*, 190.
 griuil *gruel*, 239.
 grou *to grow*, 166, 250, 378.
 gruen *to groan*, 122.
 gruep *to grope*, 122.
 gruev *grove*, 122.
 gruin *snout of a pig*, 221, 268.
 gruml *to grumble*, 226, 247.
 grund *to grind*, 381.
 grund *ground*, 111, 300, 315.
 grun-sil *groundsel*, 89, 111, 251, 299.
 grunt *to grunt, grumble, find fault*, 111.
 grunz (pl.) *sediment*, 111, 302, 338.
 gue *to go*, 122, 382.
 gued *goad*, 122.
 guen *gone*, 122.
 gue(r) *gore*, 122.
 guest *ghost*, 122.
 guet *goat*, 122, 315.
 guid *good*, 163, 315, 343.
 guis (pl. gīs) *goose*, 163, 336.
 gulit *gullet, channel for water*, 226, 245.
 gust *gust*, 111.
 gute(r) *gutter*, 226.

guts entrails, *belly*, 111.
 guz̄l to swallow greedily, 226.
 i I, 350.
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 ī he, 155, 350.
 ī (pl. īn) eye, 181, 315, 334.
 id to hide, 177.
 id I would, 250.
 īd heed, 147.
 idn (pp.) hid, 177.
 ī-end corner of the eye.
 ieb herb, 207.
 īed head, 179, 283.
 īed heard, 151.
 īege(r) eager, 231.
 īegl eagle, 231.
 īekwl equal, 231.
 īel to heal, 137.
 īel eel, 131.
 īelp health, 137, 306.
 īenis, īenist earnest, 74, 245.
 īep heap, 179.
 īe(r) ear, 179.
 īe(r) to hear, 151, 382.
 īe(r) here, 154, 354, 399.
 īerin herring, 68.
 īernd errand, 131.
 īest east, 179.
 īestē(r) Easter, 179.
 īet heat, 137.
 īeþ earth, 74.
 īeðn heathen, 137.
 īe-wig earwig, 315.
 īez ease, 231.
 īezinz the eaves of a building, 276.
 if if, 89, 401.
 ig mood, temper, 117, 315.
 īgoi, an exclamation of surprise or wonder.
 ik to hitch, 89, 312.

il hill, 117.
 il ill, 89, 343.
 īl heel, 147.
 ilt hilt, 89.
 im him, 89, 350.
 īmin evening, 130, 270, 276, 283.
 in in, 89, 400.
 īnā presently, 399.
 īndē(r) (occ. īndē(r)) to hinder, 89, 296.
 indžn engine, 209, 247, 328.
 indžói to enjoy, 209, 244, 328.
 inif (sing.), enough, 164, 245, 315, 357.
 iniu (pl.) enough; 164, 245, 315, 357.
 īnš inch, 117, 337.
 intē, intēv, intul into, 400.
 īnž hinge, 76, 315.
 in to hang, 76, 273, 367, 368.
 īngeedž to engage, 204, 209, 244.
 ink ink, 209, 322.
 īnk think, 306.
 īnliš English, 76, 273.
 īnlnd England, 76, 247.
 ip hip, 117.
 īpin a cloth placed round the hips of children, 117, 245.
 is his, 351.
 ī(s)sen, ī(s)sel, ī(s)seln himself, 353.
 it to hit, 89, 373.
 it it, 89, 289, 350.
 it its, 351.
 i tgeet in the way.
 its its, 352.
 itsen, itsel, itseln itself, 353.
 īðe(r) hither, 89, 297, 399.
 iuk hook, 164, 312.

iuneti *unity*, 237, 253.
 iuniēn *union*, 237.
 ius *use*, 237, 253.
 iusfl *useful*, 237.
 iusles *useless*, 237.
 iuz *to use*, 237, 310.
 ivē(r) *ever*, 145, 283, 399.
 ivri *every*, 145, 357.
 iz *his*, 89, 351, 352.
 iz *is*, 89, 310.
 īz *he has, he is*, 310.
 jād *yard*, 61, 315.
 jāe(r) *your*, 190, 350.
 jān *yarn*, 61, 315.
 jarē *yarrow*, 57, 243, 250.
 =jāz, *yours*, 352.
 jel *yell*, 73, 315.
 jelp *yelp*, 73, 315.
 je ye, *you*, 252, 350.
 je(r) *your*, 351.
 jes *yes*, 91, 399.
 jesen, jesel, jeseln *yourself, yourselves*, 353.
 jesenz *yourselves*, 353.
 jest *yeast*, 81, 315.
 jestēde *yesterday*, 81, 243, 315, 399.
 jestēnīt *last night*, 399.
 jet *yet*, 81, 399.
 ji ye, *you*, 155, 252, 350.
 jied (3 feet) *yard*, 74, 337.
 jiēn *to yearn*, 74.
 jie(r) *year*, 131, 252, 337.
 jild *to yield*, 78, 315.
 jiuþ *youth*, 190.
 joēn *to yawn*, 80, 315.
 jole *yellow*, 80, 243, 254, 315.
 jon, jond *yon*, 80, 252, 354.
 jondeli *vacant, beside oneself*.
 jondē(r) *yonder*, 399.

juēk *yolk*, 83, 105, 252, 315.
 jun *young*, 111, 252.
 kā *cow*, 171, 312.
 kāe(r) dān *to bend down, sit down*, 172.
 kaf *chaff*, 57, 283, 312.
 kaind *kind*, 312.
 kait *kite*, 175, 312.
 kākume(r) *cucumber*, 237, 263, 282.
 kal *to gossip*, 57, 312.
 kāl *cowl, to frown*, 114, 254, 315.
 kan *can*, 57.
 kan (verb) *can*, 57, 389.
 kani *knowing, skilful, nimble*, 57, 245.
 kanl *candle*, 57, 247, 266, 298, 312.
 kānsl *to counsel*, 235.
 kānt *to count*, 235.
 kap *cap*, 57, 194.
 kap *to surprise*.
 kapil *a piece of leather sewn over a hole in a boot or shoe*, 194.
 karit *carrot*, 194, 245.
 kasl *castle*, 57, 286.
 kā-slip *cowslip*, 117.
 kat *cat*, 57.
 kāt *cart*, 61, 312.
 katš *to catch*, 383.
 kātš *couch*, 235.
 kāv *to carve*, 74, 283, 312.
 keed *card*, 203, 322.
 keedž *cage*, 204.
 keek *bread of any kind*, 70, 312.
 keekes *body, carcase*, 203, 322.
 kēe(r) *care*, 70, 312.

kées case, 204, 322.
kei key, 139, 312, 315.
keišn (lit. occasion) need, necessity, 322.
kek hemlock, 312.
kemp short coarse white hairs in wool, 73, 312.
kenke(r) to rust, corrode, 59, 197, 243.
kep to catch (a ball), 278, 312.
kept kept, 148.
kest to cast, 60, 312, 381.
ketl kettle, 73, 247, 312.
kēd could, 389.
kē-gēt kirkgate, 90, 312, 313.
ken (verb) can, 389.
kēn currant, 228, 259, 292.
kēnl kernel, 120, 312.
kēs to curse, 113, 310, 312.
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kēsn to christen, 161, 261, 310.
kid kid, 89.
kil to kill, 77, 250, 312.
kil to cool, 147, 312.
kiln kiln, 117, 312.
kīn keen, 147, 312.
kindm kingdom, 264, 273 note, 312.
kinl to bring forth (of rabbits), 117.
kinlin firewood, 117, 298.
kin king, 117.
kirk to cough (of whooping cough), 89.
kin-kof whooping cough, 89, 312, 313.
kip to keep, 147, 312.
kist chest, box, 89, 310.
kit a pail, 89, 312.

kitl to tickle, 89, 257, 312.
kitl to bring forth kittens, 312.
kitlin kitten.
kitšn kitchen, 117, 312.
kiue(r) cure, 238.
kn weak form of kan can, 271, 359.
kob-web cob, 100.
kod cod, 100.
koef calf, 62, 312.
koef calf (of the leg), 62.
koel to call, 62, 312.
koen corn, 104, 312.
koene(r) corner, 223.
koese causeway, 225, 243, 322.
kof cough, 100, 319.
koil coal, 109, 254.
koiles coalhouse, 243.
koit quoit, coit, 216.
koit coat, 219, 312.
kok cock, 100, 312.
kokl cockle, 100, 312.
kolep slice of bacon, 100, 243.
kole(r) collar, 214.
kom came, 169.
konsān concern, 207.
konséet conceit, 234.
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konträiv to contrive, 229, 361, 364.
kontréeri contrary, 204 note, 322.
kope(r) copper, 100.
kos because, 225, 242, 246, 401.
kost to cost, 381.
kot staples of wool tightly entangled together, 289.

kotn cotton, 214.
 koud cold, 64, 312.
 kouk coke, cinder, 103, 312.
 koul to rake, 220, 322.
 kout colt, 103, 312.
 krab crab, 57.
 krabd angry, 57.
 krabi ill-tempered, 57.
 krād crowd, 171.
 kraft craft, 57.
 krai cry, 229.
 Kraist Christ, 156.
 krak to crack, 57.
 krakin cricket (game), 213.
 kram to cram, press close together, 57.
 = kramp cramp, 57.
 krān crown, crown of the head, 235.
 kraps the renderings of lard, 278, 312.
 kredl cradle, 60, 247.
 kreev to crave, 70, 312.
 krenk crank, 59.
 kres cress, 73.
 kriete(r) creature, 288.
 krinž to cringe, 76, 312, 315.
 krip to creep, 187, 383.
 kripl cripple, 117.
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 kroel to crawl, 63, 283.
 kroft a small field, 100.
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 kros across, 246.
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 krudl to curdle, 111.
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 kruēk to croak, 122.
 kruidl to shrink or cower with cold, fear, or pain, 163.
 krum crumb, 111, 263.
 krumpl to crumple, 111.
 krust crust, 226.
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lap lap, lappet, 57.
lap to wrap up, 57, 254.
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lari last, 346.
las lass, girl, 57.
lās (pl. lais) louse, 171, 310, 336.
last last, latest, 57, 343.
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lat lath, 57, 289.
late(r) latter, later, 57, 343.
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laðe(r) lather, foam, froth, 71, 186, 306.
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len to long for, 59.
lenki tall and thin.
len-setl a long bench with a high back, 59.
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naterin scolding, fault-find-
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neegin, nerin tēn a bout which is a constant source of annoyance and complaint.
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 od, rot it a passionate rebuke or remonstrance.
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 peen pane of glass, 204.
 peent paint, 204.
 pee(r) pair, 205.
 pee(r) to peel, 205.
 pees pace, 204.
 peesl parcel, 203.
 peest paste, 204.
 peestē(r) (lit. *pasture*) to
 feed.
 peet part, 203.
 peetne(r) partner, 203.
 pegi-stik the handle of a pegi
 (an instrument used in
 washing clothes, having a
 long handle inserted at
 right angles to the plane
 of a wooden disc, in which
 are set several pegs).
 pei pea, 87, 278, 311.
 peil up en dān to go about,
 hurry up and down.
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 peš to knock about, smash,
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pobz (pl.) porridge ; sops
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preez to praise, 204.
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prenk prank, trick, 59.
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prikl prickle, 89.
prist priest, 187.
prod to prick, goad, 100.
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prog to collect wood for the
bonfire on the fifth of
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pruv to prove, 163.
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puek sack, 105.
pueli poorly, ill, 222.
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 risiev to receive, 231.
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 sen (son) *song*, 59.
 sen (pret.) *sang*, 59, 367.
 senk (pret.) *sank*, 59, 367.
 ses *assessment, to assess, tax*,
 206, 246.
 seš *sash*, 197.
 set to set, 73, 310, 381.
 setəðe *Saturday*, 134.
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 sevm *seven*, 73, 270, 344.
 sevnt *seventh*, 344.
 sevnti *seventy*, 344.
 sevntin *seventeen*, 344.
 sevntint *seventeenth*, 344.
 sevntit *seventieth*, 344.
 sez *sayest, says*, 134.
 se so, 399.
 sed *should*, 256, 312, 391.
 seliut *to salute*, 239, 242.
 se ðe (lit. see thou) *look!* 192.
 si to see, 187, 374.
 si to sigh, 158, 318.
 si to stretch, 310.
 sid *seed*, 130.
 sie sea, 137.
 siekrit *secret*, 231.
 siem *seam*, 179.
 siene *senna*, 206, 243.
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 siet *seat*, 137.
 siez to seize, 382.
 siezn *season*, 231.
 sift to sift, 89, 283.
 sik to seek, 147, 383.
 sikl *sickle*, 89, 312.
 siks *six*, 77, 320, 344.
 siks-peneþ *sixpenny worth*,
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 sikst *sixth*, 77, 289, 309, 344.
 siksti *sixty*, 344.
 sikstin *sixteen*, 150, 344.

sikstint *sixteenth*, 344.
 siksttit *sixtieth*, 344.
 sil *sill*, 117.
 sili *silly*, 136, 245.
 silk *silk*, 89.
 silvə(r) *silver*, 77.
 sim to seem, 147.
 simetri *cemetery*, 209, 243.
 simin-dlas a *looking-glass, mirror*.
 simpl *simple*, 348.
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 siuge(r) *sugar*, 227, 310.
 siuit *suet*, 239.
 siut *suit*, 237.
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 skaflin *scaffolding*, 194, 301,
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skep a large wicker basket
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swaim to climb up a tree or
pole, 156.
swaip to sweep off, remove
hastily, 156.
swām swarm, 61.
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swilinz thin liquid food for
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 šuđə(r) to shudder, III, 243,
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 šuđe(r) (šuldə(r)) shoulder,
 III.
 šuv to shove, 174, 283, 312.
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 t the, 306, 341.
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tă *thou*, 350.
 tăd *towards*.
 tădz *towards*, 61, 243, 251.
 tăe(r) *tar*, 75.
 tăe(r) *tower*, 236.
 taid *feast time*, 156, 285.
 taidin *a present from the feast*, 156.
 taik *a low fellow*, 156.
 tă-il (*also tail*) *towel*, 235.
 taim *time*, 156.
 tairen *tyrant*, 293.
 tais *to entice*, 229, 246.
 tait *soon*, 156.
 tak *to take*, 71, 312, 375.
 tale *tallow*, 57, 243, 315.
 tali *to agree, be right*, 194, 245.
 tan *to tan*, 57.
 tān *town*, 171.
 tap *tap*, 57.
 tarie(r) *terrier dog*, 208, 243.
 tate(r) *tatter*, 57.
 teebl *table*, 204.
 teel *tail*, 65, 315.
 teel *tale*, 70, 254.
 teele(r), teelje(r) *tailor*, 204.
 teem *tame*, 70, 285.
 teen *taken*, 70, 312.
 teest *taste*, 204.
 teestril *rascal, good-for-nothing*.
 teits *to teach*, 138, 312, 383.
 tel *to tell*, 73, 382.
 tem *poured out*, 148.
 tem-ful *brimful*, 148.
 temz *a coarse hair sieve*, 73, 285, 310.
 ten *ten*, 192, 344.
 tent *tenth*, 309, 344.
 ten *a sting, to sting*, 59.
 tenz *tongs*, 59, 273, 338.

teu *to work zealously*, 180, 285.
 te, tēv *to*, 283, 400.
 te *thou*, 306, 350.
 tēd *turd*, 120.
 te-dee *to-day*, 399.
 tēf *turf*, 113, 283.
 te-geðe(r) *together*, 60, 297.
 te-moen *to-morrow*, 104, 242, 399.
 te-moen-tnit *to-morrow (the) night*, 399.
 tēn *bout, turn, to turn*, 113, 228.
 tēnep *turnip*, 228, 243.
 te-nit *to-night*, 399.
 tī *to tie*, 150.
 tie *tea*, 231.
 tiem *team*, 179.
 tiez *to tease*, 137.
 tift *condition, state, order*, 211.
 tik *tick*, 89, 312.
 til *to till*, 89.
 til *tile*, 94, 315.
 tim *to pour out*, 147, 381.
 tin *tin*, 89.
 tit (titi) *breastmilk*, 89.
 tit *tight*, 93, 318.
 tip *teeth*, 147.
 tiu *too, also*, 164, 399.
 tiuk *took*, 164, 312.
 tiuzde *Tuesday*, 159.
 tlād *cloud*, 171, 312.
 tlāk *clerk*, 207, 323.
 tlam *to famish*, 57, 312.
 tlap *clap*, 57.
 tlap *to place, put down*.
 tlät *clout*, 171, 312.
 tlate(r) *to clatter*, 57.
 tlee *clay*, 315.
 tleem *to claim*, 204, 323.

tleg to stick to, as thick mud to the boots, clog, 59, 312.
tlegi sticky, dirty (of roads), stopped up with dirt, 59.
tlēn (pret.) clung, 59.
tlēnk to beat, flog, 59, 312.
tlets brood of chickens, 73, 312.
tlēn clean, 137, 312.
tlie(r) clear, 233, 312.
tliet coltsfoot, 312.
tlik to seize, snatch, catch hold of, 117, 312.
tlim to climb, 89, 281, 312.
tlip to cling, 89, 312, 367.
tlip to clip, 89, 117, 312.
tlia a ball of string or wored, 96, 190, 312.
tliv to cleave, 187, 312, 365, 366.
tloē claw, 63, 250, 312.
tlœk to scratch with the fingers or claws, 312.
tlog a shoe with wooden soles, 100.
tlois close, narrow, 219.
tlois a field, 109.
tloiz to close, 219.
tlök the common black beetle, 100.
tlök to cluck, 100, 312.
tlomp to tread heavily, 312.
tlot clot, 100.
tlomv cloven, 100.
tluek cloak, 218, 312.
tlueþ cloth, 122, 312.
tlueð to clothe, 122, 382.
tlueve(r) clover, 122, 312.
tluez clothes, 122, 307, 310.
tlur (pp.) clung, 111.
tluste(r) cluster, 111, 286.

tluðe(r) to get closely together, 297.
toe a marble of any kind, 285.
toek to talk, 62, 312.
toen torn, 104.
toez marbles, 346.
tof tough, 169, 319.
toidi very small, 109, 285.
toist to toast, 219, 289.
top top, 100.
topin the front part of the hair of the head, 100, 245.
topl to fall over, 100.
tot a small beer glass, 100.
toul toll, 103.
tout taught, 140, 318.
trai to try, 229.
traifi trifle, 229.
trä-il trowel, 235.
trāns to beat, flog, 235.
trap trap, 57.
träst to trust, 171, 310.
treel to drag, 204.
treeñ train, 204.
treid to tread, 87, 372.
treml to tremble, 206, 263, 282.
trešin at en in walking out and in till weary, or tired out.
treze(r) treasure, 206, 243, 310.
tri tree, 187.
tribl treble, threefold, 209, 348.
trim to trim, 117.
triet treat, to treat, 231, 381.
triøtl treacle, 231, 323.
triu true, 190, 250.
triup truth, 190.
trodn trodden, 100.

trof *trough*, 100, 315.
 trolēp *a dirty, untidy person*, 285.
 trons *trance* 200.
 trubl *trouble*, 226.
 trunl *trundle*, 121.
 trunk *trunk*, 226.
 trúzez *trousers*, 235, 338.
 tšaid *to chide*, 312.
 tšap *chap*, 186, 312.
 tšapil, tšapl *chapel*, 194, 330.
 tšavl *to nibble at, gnaw, chew*, 57, 312.
 tšeedž *charge*, 203, 330.
 tšeef *to chafe*, 204.
 tšeeme(r) *chamber*, 204, 263, 282, 330.
 tšeendž *change*, 204, 328.
 tše(r) *chair*, 205.
 tselte(r) *to clot, coagulate (of blood)*, 254.
 tšeu *to chew*, 190, 312, 382.
 tšerep *to chirp*, 91, 248, 312.
 tšeri *cherry*, 207, 311, 330.
 tšēts *church*, 90, 312.
 tšiene *chinaware*, 229.
 tšiep *cheap*, 179, 312.
 tšiet *to cheat*, 231, 381.
 tšik *cheek*, 181, 312.
 tšikin *chicken*, 89, 312.
 tšilde(r) *children*, 89, 92, 312, 335.
 tšimli *chimney*, 211, 330.
 tšin *chin*, 89, 312.
 tšiuz *to choose*, 187, 312, 365, 366.
 tšiuz-wot *whatever*, 357.
 tšiz *cheese*, 130, 312.
 tšoek *chalk*, 62, 312.
 tšois *choice*, 216, 330.
 tšons *chance*, 200, 330.
 tšont *chant*, 200, 330.

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 tšozn *chosen*, 100, 247.
 tšuek *to choke*, 105, 312.
 tšuf *proud, haughty*, 111, 312.
 tšuk *to throw, pitch*, 226.
 tū *two*, 129, 250, 344.
 tub *tub*, 111.
 tue *toe*, 122.
 tued *toad*, 122.
 tuekn *token*, 122, 247.
 tuen *(lit. the one) one of two*, 122, 345.
 tug *to tug, plod*, 111, 315.
 tug en teu *(words of nearly the same signification, coupled for the sake of emphasis) to work hard and strive*.
 tuił *tool*, 163.
 tuił (pl. tipeł) *tooth*, 163, 336.
 tul *to*, 97, 285, 400.
 tuml *to tumble*, 111, 263, 282.
 tun *tun*, 111, 226.
 tun *tongue*, 111.
 tup *a ram*, 111.
 tupms *twopence*, 349.
 tusk *tusk*, 111.
 tutš *to touch*, 226.
 tūpri *(lit. two or three) few*, 192, 349.
 tuðe(r) *the other*, 169.
 twain *twine*, 156.
 twais *twice*, 156, 250, 348.
 twelft *twelfth*, 73, 289, 309, 344.
 twelyv *twelve*, 73, 283, 344.
 twenty *twenty*, 73, 344.
 twentieth *twentieth*, 344.
 twig *twig*, 89, 315.
 twil *quill, pen*, 324.

twilt *quilt*, 211, 254, 324.
 twilt to beat, *thrash*, 324.
 twin, *twin*, 89.
 twīn between, 246, 400.
 twīnkł to twinkle, 89, 312.
 twist *twist*, 89.
 twot *pudendum fem.*, 250.

þak *thatch*, 57, 306, 312.
 þāzn *thousand*, 171, 247, 301,
 302, 310, 344.
 þāznt *thousandth*, 344.
 þēd *third*, 90, 261, 344.
 þēdi *third*, 346.
 þenk to thank, 59.
 þēti *thirty*, 90, 245, 344.
 þētin *thirteen*, 344.
 þētint *thirteenth*, 344.
 þētit *thirtieth*, 344.
 þēzde *Thursday*, 172.
 þi *thigh*, 187, 318.
 þibl a smooth round stick
 used to stir porridge with.
 þif *thief*, 187, 283.
 þik *thick*, friendly, in love
 with, 89, 312.
 þiml *thimble*, 177, 247,
 282.
 þin *thin*, 117.
 þin *thing*, 86, 273.
 þink to think, 76, 273, 306,
 312, 383.
 þisl *thistle*, 89.
 þoe to thaw, 123, 377.
 þoen *thorn*, 104.
 þoil to give ungrudgingly,
 109, 306.
 þout *thought*, 167, 318.
 þraiv to thrive, 156, 283, 306,
 361.
 þrast (pret.) thrust, 57.
 þren *busy*, *throng*, 59.

þrepm̄s *threepence*, 192, 270,
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 þres to thresh, 73.
 þreſld *threshold*, 73.
 þre through, from, 400.
 þri three, 187, 344.
 þribl *threefold*, 209, 348.
 þrid *thread*, 130.
 þriop to dispute, contradict,
 179, 306.
 þrietn to threaten, 179.
 þrif through, 319.
 þrift *thrift*, 89.
 þrift (þriu) through, from,
 on account of, 116.
 þriu *threw*, 190.
 þriu (þrift) through, from, on
 account of, 116, 319.
 þroe to throw, 123, 377.
 þroit *throat*, 109.
 þrosl *thrush*, 100, 287, 310.
 þrotl to press on the wind-
 pipe, choke, 100.
 þrusn (pp.) *thrust*, 287.
 þrust to thrust, 178, 367, 368.
 þum *thumb*, 174.
 þune(r) *thunder*, 111, 243,
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ðā thou, 171, 306, 350.
 ðai thy, 155, 351.
 ðain thine, 156, 352.
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 ðee they, 84, 350.
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 ðeez theirs, 352.
 ðem (demon. and pers. pr.)
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 ðie(r) there, 131, 306, 354,
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 ðisen, ðisel, ðiseln thyself,
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 uek oak, 122.
 uel whole, 122, 317.
 ueli holy, 122, 245.
 uem home, 122.
 uenli lonely, 122, 245.
 uep hope, 105.
 ue(r) oar, 122.
 ue(r) hoar, 122.
 ues(t) hoarse, 122, 310.
 uets oats, 122.
 uep oath, 122.
 uez whose, 355.
 uf displeasure, an offended
 manner, rage, 315.
 ug to carry, 111, 315.
 ugli ugly, 111.
 ugn hip, 111, 247, 271.
 uid hood, 163.
 uif hoof, 163, 283.
 uin to harass, treat badly,
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 ulet owl, 174, 243.
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 umbugz sweets.
 uml humble, 226, 247, 263,
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 umpaie(r) umpire, 230.
 unded hundred, 111, 243,
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 unde(r) under, 111, 400.
 undet hundredth, 299, 344.
 uni honey, 111.
 unien onion, 226.
 uni-sukl honeysuckle, 174.
 unsiuə(r) uncertain, 240,
 243.
 unt to hunt, 111.
 unə(r) hunger, 111, 243, 273.
 unkł uncle, 226.
 up up, 174, 400.
 upodn upholden.
 up-reit upright.
 ut hot, 126, 317.
 uðe(r) other, 169, 357.
 uðe(r) udder, 174, 297.
 uvm oven, 107, 270.
 uz us, 174, 310, 350.
 uzbn husband, 174, 301, 302,
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 -v have, 395.
 vā vow, 235.
 vaielat, violet, 230.
 vale value, 194, 243.
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 vāment vermin, 207, 294.
 vāniš varnish, 207, 327.
 vantidž advantage, 246.
 vari very, 208, 245, 250, 258,
 399.
 veen vein, 204.
 vente(r) to venture, 206, 288.
 vesl vessel, 206.

viel *veal*, 231, 250.
 viu *view*, 237, 253.
 vois *voice*, 216, 250.
 voiðe(r) *large clothes' basket*,
 216, 250, 297.

 wa *why*, 249.
 wād *ward*, 61,
 wāe(r) *worse*, 74, 260, 343.
 wāf *wharf*, 61, 317.
 waid *wide*, 156.
 waie(r) *wire*, 157.
 waif *wife*, 156, 283.
 wail *while*, *time*, 156.
 wain *wine*, 156.
 waip *to wipe*, 156, 250.
 wait *white*, 156.
 wait ali, see § 346 note.
 waiz *wise*, 156.
 wak *to beat, flog*, 250, 306.
 wāk *pain, to ache*, 61, 312.
 wāk (noun) *work*, 74, 250,
 259, 312.
 wākes *union, workhouse*,
 243.
 walep *to beat, flog*, 202, 250.
 wām *warm*, 61.
 wan (pret.) *wound*, 301.
 wān *to warn*, 61.
 wap (wop) *to hit, throw*.
 wāp *warp*, 61.
 warend *to warrant*, 202, 250,
 291.
 wāst *worst*, 343.
 wāt *wart*, 61.
 wāte *weekday*, 74, 243, 305,
 313.
 web *web*, 73, 280.
 wed *to wed, marry*, 73, 381.
 wedzde *Wednesday*, 170.
 wedž *wedge*, 73.
 wee *way*, 84, 315.

weed *to wade*, 70, 250.
 weedž *wage*, 250.
 week *weak*, 127.
 weel *whale*, 70.
 ween *to wane*, 70.
 wee(r) *to spend or lay out*
 money, 70, 250.
 weest *waste*, 149.
 weeste(r) *a silly, stupid fel-*
 low.
 weet *to wait*, 204, 250.
 weev *wave*, 70, 133.
 weeve(r) *to waver*, 70, 250.
 weft *weft*, 73, 283.
 weg *to wag*, 59, 315.
 wegn *wagon*, 59, 247, 271.
 wei *to weigh*, 87, 315.
 weik *the wick of a lamp or*
 candle, 87, 312.
 weit *weight*, 93, 318.
 weiv *to weave*, 87, 283, 372.
 wel (noun) *well*, 73.
 wel (adv.) *well*, 399.
 welp *whelp*, 73.
 wen *when*, 108, 317.
 went, *went*, 73.
 wen *thong*, 59, 250, 273, 306.
 wesp *wasp*, 60.
 west *west*, 73.
 weš *to wash*, 59, 312, 383.
 wešes *washhouse*, 243.
 wet *wet*, 134, 289, 381.
 wetstn *whetstone*, 73.
 weðe(r) *weather*, 73, 297.
 weðe(r) *whether*, 60.
 weðe(r) *the wool of a sheep*
 which has already been
 shorn at least once before,
 73, 306.
 we *we*, 350.
 wed *would*, 256, 397.
 wēd *word*, 104.

wēk to work, 120, 312, 383.
 wēl to whirl, 90.
 wēld world, 104.
 wēm worm, 120.
 we(r) our, 351.
 we(r) was, were, 396.
 wēri to worry, 120, 245, 315.
 wesēn, wesel, weseln, wesenz
 ourselves, 353.
 wēsit worsted, 305.
 wēp worth, 74, 306.
 wi with, 89, 307, 400.
 wī we, 155, 350.
 wid weed, 187.
 wide widow, widower, 89,
 243, 250, 296.
 wient will not, 256, 397.
 wiēpm weapon, 131, 247,
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 wie(r) to wear, 75, 369, 371.
 wie(r) where, 131, 317.
 wieri weary, 149.
 wiet wheat, 137, 317.
 wiez to wheeze, 131.
 wik quick, alive, 89, 250,
 312.
 wilk week, 89, 337.
 wil (adv.) well, 79, 399.
 wil wheel, 187, 250.
 wil will, 89, 397.
 wild to wield, 78.
 wild wild, 92, 254.
 wile willow, 77, 243.
 wimin women, 160, 283.
 win to win, 89, 367.
 wind wind, 89.
 wind to wind, 89, 367, 368.
 windē window, 89, 243, 250.
 wintē(r) winter, 89.
 win wing, 76, 250.
 wink to wink, 89.
 wip to weep, 147.
 wisl to whistle, 89, 287.
 wisnde Whitsuntide, 287.
 wisnde sunde Whitsunday,
 287.
 wispe(r) to whisper, 89.
 wiš to wish, 177, 312.
 wišin cushion, 325.
 wišt silent, quiet.
 wit wit, 89.
 witā, wite? wilt thou? 256,
 397.
 witek wicket, 286.
 witl large carving knife, 89,
 250, 306.
 witš which, 77, 256, 312,
 355.
 witš witch, 89.
 wiðat without, 400.
 wiðe(r) to hurl, throw, 250.
 wiu-in whistling (of the
 wind).
 wizdm wisdom, wise, 160,
 247.
 wizl weazel, 79.
 wizn to wither, 89, 310.
 wod would, 256, 397.
 woef (woeff) sickly to the
 smell, insipid to the taste,
 62, 250, 319.
 woek to walk, 62, 312.
 woel wall, 62.
 wokn to waken, 58, 247, 271,
 312, 382.
 woks wax, 58.
 woks to grow, 320.
 wol until, 249, 401.
 wonde(r) to wander, 58.
 wont want, 58, 250.
 wop (wap) to hit, throw.
 wo(r) was, were, 58, 396.
 wot (wor) what, 58, 250,
 317, 355.

wote(r) *water*, 58, 243, 250.
wotivē(r) *whatever*, 357.
wotš *watch, to watch*, 58, 312.
wovm *woven*, 100, 270.
wud *wood*, 111.
wue *woe*, 122.
wuem *womb*, 66, 281.
wūl *wool*, 112.
wulzi *wollen*, 111.

wumēn (pl. wimin) *woman*, 162, 283, 336.
wun *one*, 126, 344.
wun (pp.) *wound*, 111, 301.
wun (pp.) *won*, 111.
wun-ā *somehow*, 345.
wund *a wound*, 111, 300.
wunde(r) *wonder*, 111.
wuns *once*, 126, 348.

z *is*, 310.

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